JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

THE ASSOCIATION OF 1774

FRONTISPIECE

(Three plates in pocket of cover)

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JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

1774–1789

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WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD
CHIEF, DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS

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PREFATORY NOTE

The Journals and Records of the Continental Congress have never been printed in full. The entries made from day to day by Secretary Charles Thomson were far from complete, and were subjected to revision by committees before publication; but the contemporary issues of the Journals have served as the basis of all subsequent reprints, and the original manuscript has remained almost unused, except by the curious bent upon studying the course of a certain measure. For the first time these valuable records of consultation and legislative action are now to be printed as written and as they were kept by the office of the Secretary of Congress. The entries will be supplemented by information gathered from the indorsements made upon papers and reports laid before Congress, which often note action not entered upon the Journals, and from such other sources as will aid in reconstituting the proceedings of this Revolutionary body.

The Congress of 1774 stands by itself. The first step toward common measures, carefully taken by the committees of correspondence and more or less popular assemblies of the localities, easily led to a general or Continental Congress, whose powers were but ill defined, and whose acts were largely tentative. It was not prepared to take any radical step, and an assertion of the

claims to rights rather than of the rights of the Colonies formed the burden of these papers. The conservative feeling carried the day and restricted the proceedings to statements of the grievances and appeals for relief. The delegates were unable to go beyond their instructions, and these were limited to consultation on the present state of the Colonies and the measures demanded by the situation for the best good of the dependencies. A restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies was the wish of the meeting. The resulting addresses and papers were on that line, and only when the Congress of 1775 assembled was it seen that the time was ripe for action.

Of the original papers prepared and adopted in this Congress of 1774 but one has been preserved—the Articles of Association. From a number of sources documents have been obtained throwing light upon the measures submitted and the various forms they assumed before acceptance or rejection. What is printed here will even thus form only a journal of proceedings, with the reports prepared in the Congress; but the intended publication of the papers and documents of the Continental Congress in full will supply to the student the material necessary to the understanding of the position, measures, and influence of this body.

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Chief of Division of Manuscripts
Editor

HERBERT PUTNAM
Librarian of Congress

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JOURNALS

1774

JOURNAL OF CONGRESS, 1774

PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Great Britain or Ireland of any goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place of any such goods, wares or merchandize

1st To enter into a non importation non consumption and non exportation agreement or association — 2 To — ——

~~& To draw~~ the preparing an address to the people of Great Britain and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America &

3 To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty, agreeable to Resolutions already entered into. —

A letter being received from ~~Congress~~ several Gentlemen in Georgia was read. —

Saturday October 15. 1774

The Congress ~~resumed~~ resumed the consideration of the plan of Association for carrying into effect the Nonimportation &c

after some time spent on that subject adjourned till Monday.

Monday Oct. 17. 1774

The congress met according to adjournment

Mr J. Dickinson appeared in congress as a deputy for the province of Pensylvania, and produced his credentials as follows.

"In Assembly Oct. 15. 1774 A. M.

"Upon Motion by Mr Roß, ordered,

"That Mr J. Dickinson be and he is hereby added to the "committee of Deputies appointed by the late assembly of "this province to attend the general congress now sitting in the "city of Philadelphia on American grievances

By order of the House, Chs Moore clk of the Assembly." —

The same being approved Mr J. Dickinson took his seat as one of the deputies for the province of Pensylvania

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the plan of Association &c. & after spending the remainder of that day on that subject adjourned till to morrow ——

Tuesday Oct. 18. 1774

The Congress ~~[illegible]~~ resumed the consideration of the plan

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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1774

A number of the Delegates chosen and appointed by the Several Colonies and Provinces in North America to meet and hold a Congress at Philadelphia assembled at the Carpenters' Hall:[1]

PRESENT:

From New Hampshire.

Major John Sullivan, Esq.r
Col.o Nathaniel Folsom, Esq.r

From Massachusetts.

The Hon.ble Thomas Cushing, Esq.r
Mr. Samuel Adams,
John Adams, } Esq.rs
Robert Treat Paine, }

From Rhode Island.

The Hon.ble Stephen Hopkins, Esq.r
The Hon.ble Samuel Ward, Esq.r

From Connecticut.

The Hon.ble Eliphalet Dyer, Esq.r
Silas Deane, Esq.r
The Hon.ble Roger Sherman, Esq.r

[1] "The members met at the City (or Smith's) Tavern, at ten o'clock, and walked to the Carpenter's Hall, where they took a view of the room, and of the chamber where is an excellent library. * * * The general cry was, That this was a good room, and the question was put, whether we were satisfied with this room? and it passed in the affirmative. A very few were for the negative, and they were chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York."—*John Adams's Works*, II, 365. Galloway wished the State-house to be used.

From the City and County of New York, and other counties in the province of New York.

James Duane,
John Jay,
Philip Livingston, } Esq^rs
Isaac Low,

From the county of Suffolk, in the province of New York.

Col^o William Floyd, Esqr

From New-Jersey.

James Kinsey,
William Livingston,
John Dehart, } Esq^rs
Stephen Crane,
Richard Smith,

From Pennsylvania.

The Honble Joseph Galloway, Esqr
Samuel Rhoads,
Thomas Mifflin,
Charles Humphreys, } Esq^rs
John Morton,
Edward Biddle,

From New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.

Cæsar Rodney,
Thomas McKean, } Esq^rs
George Read,

From Maryland.

Robert Goldsborough,
William Paca, } Esq^rs
Samuel Chase,

From Virginia.

The Honble Peyton Randolph,
Col^o Richard Henry Lee, present the 2^d day.
George Washington
Patrick Henry,
Richard Bland,
Benjamin Harrison, } Esq^rs
Edmund Pendleton,

From South Carolina.

Henry Middleton,
John Rutledge,
Christopher Gadsden, } Esq^rs
Thomas Lynch,
Edward Rutledge,

The Congress proceeded to the choice of a President, when the Honble Peyton Randolph, Esqr was unanimously elected.[1]

Mr. Charles Thomson was unanimously chosen Secretary.[2]

The gentlemen from the several Colonies produced their respective credentials, which were read and approved & are as follows:

[1] The nominations of both Randolph and Thomson were made by Thomas Lynch. John Adams says that Duane and Jay were at first inclined to seek further for a Secretary.

[2] American Quarterly Review, I, 30.

FOR THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE:[1]

At a meeting of the deputies appointed by the several towns in this province, held at Exeter, in the county of Rockingham, 21st July, 1774, for the election of delegates, on behalf of this province, to join the General Congress proposed. Present, 85 members.

The Honble John Wentworth, Esqr, in the chair.

Voted, That Major John Sullivan, and Col^o^ Nathaniel Folsom, Esq^rs^, be appointed and impowered as delegates, on the part of this province, to attend and assist in the General Congress of delegates from the other Colonies, at such time and place as may be appointed, to devise, consult, and adopt measures, as may have the most likely tendency to extricate the Colonies from their present difficulties; to secure and perpetuate their rights, liberties, and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony, & mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her Colonies.

Attested:

J. WENTWORTH, *Chairman.*

FOR THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY:[2]

In the House of Representatives, June 17th, 1774.

This house having duly considered, and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences which have long subsisted and are encreasing between Great Britain and the American Colonies, do resolve, that a meeting of Committees from the several Colonies on this Continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced

[1] It would be impossible in this place to give even a short account of the political events in each colony preceding the appointment of delegates to the General or Continental Congress. Local histories give a sketch of these events, but not always in such a form as to present the relations maintained by the agitators of one colony toward those in another. The newspapers of the day printed the proceedings of county or town conventions and such few communications on political affairs as suited the varying opinions or interests of the editors. The best source of information is to be found in the handbills and broadsides issued by the different parties or factions, and this is especially true for New York, where the contest was most severe, and in Pennsylvania, where such arts of political agitation had long been practiced.

[2] General Gage had adjourned the general court to Salem, and there these resolves were adopted with only 12 dissenting voices in a membership of 129. The names of 11 of the dissenters are given in a journal of the day, on rumor, and is printed in Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, I, 421 *n.*

by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America, and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights & liberties, civil & religious, and the restoration of union & harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all good men. Therefore, Resolved, That the Honble James Bowdoin,[1] esq^r^., the Honble Thomas Cushing, esq^r^., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, & Robert Treat Paine, esq^rs^., be, and they are hereby appointed a Committee on the part of this province, for the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum, to meet such committees or delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective houses of Burgesses, or representatives, or by convention, or by the committees of correspondence appointed by the respective houses of Assembly, in the city of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the Committee, on the first day of September next; & that the Speaker of the House[2] be directed, in a letter to the speakers of the house of Burgesses or representatives in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these Resolves.

Attested:

SAMUEL ADAMS, *Clerk.*

FOR RHODE ISLAND:[3]

By the Honble Joseph Wanton, esq^r^., governor, captain-general, and commander in chief of and over the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, in New England in America.

To the Honourable Stephen Hopkins, esq^r^., and the Honourable Samuel Ward, esq^r^., greeting:

Whereas the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid have nominated and appointed you, the said Stephen Hopkins & Samuel Ward, to represent the people of this Colony in general congress of representatives from this and the other Colonies, at such time and place as should be agreed upon by the major part of the committees appointed, or to be appointed by the colonies in general:

[1] Bowdoin declined his appointment.

[2] Thomas Cushing.

[3] The resolution of the Assembly was passed 15 June, 1774. *Rhode Island Records*, VII, 246.

I do therefore hereby authorize, impower, and commissionate you, the said Stephen Hopkins & Samuel Ward, to repair to the city of Philadelphia, it being the place agreed upon by the major part of the colonies; and there, in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the commissioners or delegates from the other colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British parliament, for levying taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in America, without their consent, and particularly an act lately passed for blocking up the port of Boston, and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies, upon a just and solid foundation, agreable to the instructions given you by the general Assembly.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the said colony, this tenth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and the 14th [L. S.] of the reign of his most sacred Majesty George the third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, & so forth.

Signed

J. WANTON.

By his honour's command,

HENRY WARD, *Secy.*

FOR CONNECTICUT:

In the House of Representatives of the Colony of Connecticut,

June 3d, 1774.

Whereas a congress of commissioners from the several British colonies in America, is proposed by some of our neighbouring colonies, and thought necessary; and whereas it may be found expedient that such Congress should be convened before the next Session of this Assembly:

Resolved, by this house, that the committee of correspondence[1] be, and they are hereby empowered, on application to them made, or from time to time, as may be found necessary, to appoint a suitable number to attend such congress, or convention of commissioners, or committees of the several Colonies in British America, and the persons thus

[1] This committee of correspondence was appointed by the Connecticut House of Representatives, May 21, 1773, in response to a suggestion of the Virginia House of Burgesses. The names of the committee are appended to the minute of the meeting, that of Samuel Bishop alone being wanting.

to be chosen shall be, and they are hereby directed, in behalf of this Colony, to attend such Congress; to consult and advise on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies, and such conferences, from time to time, to report to this house.

True Extract & Copy from the Journal of the house.

Attest

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Clerk.*

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, *ss.*

NEW LONDON, *July 13th, 1774.*

At a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence for this Colony: The honourable EBENEZER SILLIMAN, Esqr in the chair:

The hon^ble Eliphalet Dyer, the hon^ble William Samuel Johnston, Erastus Wolcott, Silas Deane, and Richard Law, Esq^rs were nominated pursuant to the act of the honourable House of Representatives of the said Colony, at their session in May last, either three of which are hereby authorised and empowered, in behalf of this Colony, to attend the general Congress of the colonies proposed to be held at Philadelphia, on the first day of September next, or at such other time & place as shall be agreed on by the Colonies, to consult and advise with the Commissioners or Committees of the several English Colonies in America, on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies.

(Signed:)

Ebenezer Silliman, William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Erastus Wolcott, Joseph Trumbull, Samuel H. Parsons, Nathan^l Wales, jun. Silas Deane.

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, *ss.*

HARTFORD, *August* [ ],[2] *1774.*

At a Meeting of the Committee of Correspondence for this colony: Erastus Wolcott, Chairman.

The honourable William Samuel Johnston[1], Erastus Wolcott, and Richard Law, Esq^rs nominated by this committee at their meeting at New-London, on the 13th of July last, as persons proper to attend the

[1] Johnson pleaded an important law case requiring his attendance at Albany, a plea which gave occasion to no little comment, as implying a disinclination to accept the appointment to the Congress. A defence of him by Silas Deane will be found in *Letters and Journals of Samuel B. Webb*, I, 37.

[2] The meeting must have been held very early in August, as a newspaper announced the results on the 3d.

general congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the 1st of September next, as by said appointment, being unable, by reason of previous engagements and the state of their health, to attend said Congress, on behalf of this colony; the hon^ble Roger Sherman, & Joseph Trumbull, Esq^rs were nominated in the place of the aforesaid gentlemen, as persons proper to attend said Congress, in behalf of this Colony, either of which are empowered, with the hon^ble Eliphalet Dyer, and Silas Deane, Esqr for that purpose.

(Signed)

William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Joseph Trumbull, Nathl Wales, Jun, Saml H. Parsons, Samuel Bishop.

FOR NEW YORK:

By duly certifyed polls, taken by proper persons, in seven wards, it appears that James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, & John Alsop, Esq^rs were elected as Delegates for the City & County of New York, to attend the Congress at Philadelphia, the first day of September next; and at a meeting of the Committees of several districts in the County of West-Chester, the same gentlemen were appointed to represent that County. Also by a Letter from Jacob Lansing, Junr, chairman, in behalf of the Committee for Albany, it appears, that that City & County had adopted the same for their delegates. By another letter,[1] it appears, that the Committees from the several districts in the County of Duchess, had likewise adopted the same as delegates to represent that County in Congress, & that Committees of other towns approve of them as their delegates.

By a writing duly attested, it appears, the County of Suffolk, in the Colony of New York, have appointed Col^o William Floyd, to represent them at the Congress.

FOR NEW JERSEY:[2]

To James Kinsey, William Livingston, John D'hart, Stephen Crane, & Richard Smith, Esq^rs each and every of you:

The Committees, appointed by the several Counties of the Colony of New Jersey, to nominate Deputies, to represent the same in the

[1] It was dated August 20.

[2] The proceedings of the convention making these nominations are printed in the *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, X, 469. Kinsey and Crane were members of the New Jersey Committee of Correspondence.

general congress of deputies from the other Colonies in America, convened at the City of New Brunswick, have nominated and appointed, and do hereby nominate and appoint you, and each of you, deputies, to represent the Colony of New Jersey in the said general congress.

In testimony whereof, the Chairmen of the several Committees here met, have hereunto set their hands, this twenty third day of July, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third, and in the year of our Lord 1774.

(Signed)

William P. Smith [Essex County], Jacob Ford [Morris County], John Moores [Middlesex County], Robert Johnson, Robert Field, Robert Friend Price, Peter Zabriskie [Bergen County], Samuel Tucker [Hunterdon County], Edward Taylor [Monmouth County], Hendrick Fisher, Archibald Stewart,[1] Thomas Anderson,[1] Abra Brown,[1] Mark Thompson.[1]

FOR PENNSYLVANIA:[2]

EXTRACT FROM VOTES OF THE ASSEMBLY.

FRIDAY, *July 22d. 1774, a. m.*

The Committee of the whole house, taking into their most serious consideration, the unfortunate differences which have long subsisted between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, and been greatly increased by the operation and effects of divers late acts of the British Parliament:

Resolved, N. C. D. That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies, be held as soon as conveniently may be, to consult together upon the present unhappy State of the Colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purposes of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that Union & harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both.

[1] Hugh Hughes was the chairman of the Sussex County meeting, but does not appear to have been at the New-Brunswick meeting. These four persons were present as delegates from Sussex.

[2] The instructions to the delegates from Pennsylvania were printed in the *Packet*, September 5, 1774. As a postscript in the same issue was given the Quebec bill.

EODEM DIE, P. M.

The house resumed the consideration of the resolve from the Committee of the whole house, and, after some debate thereon, adopting and confirming the same,

Resolved, N. C. D. That the hon^ble Joseph Galloway, speaker; Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Chas Humphreys, John Morton, George Ross, & Edward Biddle, Esqrs, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee, on the part of this Province, for the purposes aforesaid, and that they, or any four of them, do meet such Committees or Delegates from the other Colonies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective houses of representatives, or by convention, or by the provincial or Colony Committees, at such time and place, as shall be generally agreed on by such Committees.

FOR THE THREE COUNTIES NEWCASTLE, KENT, & SUSSEX, ON DELAWARE:

August 1, 1774, A. M.[1]

The Representatives of the freemen of the Government of the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, & Sussex, on Delaware, met at Newcastle, in pursuance of circular letters from the Speaker of the house, who was requested to write and forward the same to the several Members of Assembly, by the Committees of correspondence for the several Counties aforesaid, chosen and appointed for that among other purposes, by the freeholders and freemen of the said Counties respectively: And having chosen a Chairman,[2] and read the resolves of the three respective Counties, and sundry letters from the Committees of correspondence along the Continent, they unanimously entered into the following resolution, viz:

We, the representatives aforesaid, by virtue of the power delegated to us, as aforesaid, taking into our most serious consideration the several acts of the British parliament, for restraining manufactures in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North-America,—for taking away the property of the Colonists without their participation or consent,—for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of excise into the Customs here,—for the making all revenue excises liable without Jury, and under the decision of a single dependant Judge,—for the

[1] The selection of delegates to the Congress was made on the morning of August 2d.
[2] Cæsar Rodney.

trial, in England, of persons accused of capital crimes, committed in the Colonies,—for the shutting up the port of Boston,—for new-modelling the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, and the operation of the same on the property, liberty, and lives of the Colonists; and also considering, that the most eligible mode of determining upon the premises, and of endeavouring to procure relief and redress of our grievances, would have been by us assembled in a Legislative capacity, but that as the house had adjourned to the thirtieth day of September next, and it is not to be expected, that his Honour the Governor would call us, by writs of summons, on this occasion, having refused to do the like in his other Province of Pennsylvania; the next most proper method, of answering the expectations and desires of our Constituents, and of contributing our aid to the general cause of America, is to appoint commissioners or deputies in behalf of the people of this government, to meet and act with those appointed by the other provinces, in general Congress; and we do, therefore, unanimously nominate and appoint Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read, Esq^rs^ or any two of them, deputies, on the part and behalf of this government, in a general continental congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on, then and there, to consult and advise with the deputies from the other colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures, as may be judged most expedient for the Colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances.

Signed by order of the convention,

CÆSAR RODNEY, *Chairman.*

FOR MARYLAND:

At a Meeting of the Committees appointed by the several Counties of the province of Maryland, at the City of Annapolis, the 22^d^ day of June, 1774, and continued by adjournment, from day to day, till the 25th of the same month:

Matthew Tilghman, Esqr in the Chair:

John Ducket, Clerk:[1]

Resolved, That Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Junr, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, and Samuel Chase, Esq^rs^ or any two or more of them, be deputies for this province, to attend a General Con-

[1] John Duckett.

gress of deputies from the Colonies, at such time and place as may be agreed on, to effect one general plan of conduct, operating on the commercial connexion of the colonies with the mother country, for the relief of Boston, and preservation of American liberty.

FOR VIRGINIA:

Monday the 1st of August, in the year of our Lord, 1774.

At a general meeting of Delegates from the different Counties in this Colony, convened in the city of Williamsburgh, to take under their consideration the present critical and alarming situation of the Continent of North-America:

The Honourable Peyton Randolph in the Chair:

It was unanimously resolved; that it is the opinion of this meeting, that it will be highly conducive to the security and happiness of the British Empire, that a general congress of deputies from all the Colonies, assemble as quickly as the nature of their situations will admit, to consider of the most proper and effectual manner of so operating on the commercial connexion of the colonies with the Mother Country, as to procure redress for the much injured province of Massachusetts-Bay, to secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily as possible to procure the return of that harmony and Union, so beneficial to the whole Empire, and so ardently desired by all British America.

Friday, August 5th, 1774.

The Meeting proceeded to the choice of Delegates, to represent this Colony in general Congress, when the honble Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, & Edmund Pendleton, Esqrs were appointed for that purpose.

FOR SOUTH-CAROLINA.[1]

In the commons, house of Assembly, Tuesday, the 2d day of August, 1774.

Colonel Powell[2] acquainted the house, that during the recess of this house, viz: on the 6th, 7th & 8th days of July last at a general meeting of the inhabitants of this colony, they having under consideration

[1] Ramsay, *Revolution in South Carolina*, I, 18. Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, I, 126. Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, I, 525.

[2] George Gabriel Powell.

the acts of parliament lately passed with regard to the port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts-Bay as well as other American grievances, had nominated and appointed the hon^ble Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, & Edward Rutledge, Esq^rs deputies on the part and behalf of this Colony, to meet the deputies of the other Colonies of North America, in general Congress, the first Monday in September next at Philadelphia, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, there to consider the acts lately passed, and bills depending in parliament with regard to the port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, which acts & bills in the precedent and consequences affect the whole Continent of America—also the grievances under which America labours, by reason of the several acts of parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unnecessary restraints and burdens on Trade; and of the statutes, parliamentary acts, and royal instructions, which make an invidious distinction between his majesty's subjects in Great-Britain and America, with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures, as in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and a redress of those grievances: and thereupon moved that this house do resolve to recognize, ratify, and confirm said appointment of the deputies for the purposes aforesaid.

Resolved, N. C. D. That this house do recognize, ratify, and confirm the appointment of the said deputies for the purposes mentioned in the said motion.

Attested, THOMAS FARR, Junr. *Clerk.*

A motion was made[1] and seconded that a Committee be appointed to draw up some rules of conduct to be observed by the Congress in debating and determining questions that come under consideration, But after some debate another motion was made and seconded that the farther consideration of this question be deferred untill tomorrow, which was carried by a large majority. Whereupon a motion was made to adjourn, and the vote (?) being put, agreed that the Congress be adjourned to meet at this place tomorrow morning 10 o Clock.

[1] By James Duane.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1774.

At 10 o'clock a. m.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Present: The same members as yesterday, and moreover, from the colony of Virginia, Richard Henry Lee, Esqr., from counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Thomas McKean, Esqr.

The Congress, resuming the consideration of appointing a Committee to draw up rules of conduct to be observed in debating and determining the questions, that come under consideration, after a good deal of debate the motion was divided and put.

1. Shall a Committee be appointed to draw up rules for the proceedings of this Congress. Carried in the Negative.

2. Shall a Committee be appointed to fix the mode of voting by allowing to each province one or more votes, so as to establish an equitable representation according to the respective importance of each Colony. Carried in the negative.

Upon motion the Question was put and

Resolved, That in determining questions in this Congress, each Colony or Province shall have one Vote.—The Congress not being possess'd of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each Colony.[1]

[1] The "debate" printed in *Works of John Adams* II, 366, must have taken place also on the 6th, and not wholly on the 5th as printed. Patrick Henry favored numbers of freemen as a basis of representation; Lynch wished the weight of each Colony to be determined by numbers and property. Richard Henry Lee raised the proper objection of a want of information to make any scale, in which John Adams agreed with him. Gadsden favored voting by Colonies. The difficulty to be met was raised by Virginia, who claimed a prominence that the delegates from other Colonies were unwilling to concede. It was finally decided that each Colony should have "one voice; but as this was objected to as unequal, an entry was made on the journals to prevent its being drawn into a precedent." *Connecticut Delegates to Governor Trumbull*, October 10, 1774.

Resolved, That no person shall speak more than twice on the same point, without the leave of the Congress.

Resolved, That no question shall be determined the day, on which it is agitated and debated, if any one of the Colonies desire the determination to be postponed to another day.

Resolved, That the doors be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honour, to keep the proceedings secret, untill the majority shall direct them to be made public.

Resolved, unan: That a Committee be appointed to State the rights of the Colonies in general, the several instances in which these rights are violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them.

Ordered. That the appointment of the Committee, and the number of which it shall consist, be deferred untill to-morrow.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine & report the several Statutes, which affect the trade and Manufactures of the colonies.

Same order as above respecting the appointment & number of this Committee.

Resolved, That the Rev.d Mr. Duché be desired to open the Congress tomorrow morning with prayers, at the Carpenter's Hall, at 9 o'Clock.[1]

Adjourned to 5 o'Clock this afternoon.

[1] "After settling the mode of voting, which is by giving each Colony an equal voice, it was agreed to open the business with prayer. As many of our warmest friends are members of the Church of England, [I] thought it prudent, as well on that as on some other accounts, to move that the service should be performed by a clergyman of that denomination." *Samuel Adams to J. Warren*, 9 September, 1774. John Adams says it was Cushing who made the motion that business be opened with prayer, and John Jay and Rutledge opposed it on the ground of a diversity in religious sentiments. That Samuel Adams asserted he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country; and nominated Duché. See note under September 7, *post*.

5 o'Clock p. m.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Thomas Johnson, Junr, Esqr one of the Delegates from Maryland, attended and took his seat.

Extract from minutes of the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, dated August 31st,—directed to the President, was read, as follows:

Upon motion, ordered,

That the Librarian furnish the gentlemen, who are to meet in Congress, with the use of such Books as they may have occasion for, during their sitting, taking a receipt for them.

By order of the Directors,

(Signed) WILLIAM ATTMORE, *Secy.*

Ordered, That the thanks of the Congress be returned to the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, for their obliging order.

Adjourned until nine o'clock to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1774, 9 o'clock a. m.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to the resolve of yesterday, the meeting was opened with prayers by the Revd Mr. Duché.

Voted, That the thanks of the Congress be given to Mr. Duché, by Mr. Cushing and Mr. Ward, for performing divine Service, and for the excellent prayer, which he composed and deliver'd on the occasion.[1]

The Congress, taking into consideration the appointment of the Committees. A vote was taken on the number of which the first Committee should consist, and, by

[1] Duché attended in full pontificals, read several prayers in the established form, the collect for the day (Psalm XXXV), and then "struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. * * * It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here." *John Adams to his wife*,—September, 1774. Joseph Reed thought the appointment and prayer a "masterly stroke of policy." Ward recorded "one of the most sublime, catholic, well-adapted prayers I ever heard."

a great majority, agreed that it consist of two from each of the Colonies, as follows:

New Hampshire, Major John Sullivan, and Mr [Nathaniel] Folsom.

Massachusetts-Bay, Mr Samuel Adams, and Mr John Adams.

Rhode Island, Mr [Stephen] Hopkins, and Mr [Samuel] Ward.

Connecticut, Colo [Eliphalet] Dyer, and Mr [Roger] Sherman.

New York, Mr James Duane, and Mr John Jay.

New Jersey, Mr [William] Livingston, and Mr [John] Dehart

Pennsylvania, Mr Joseph Galloway, and Mr E[dward] Biddle.

3 counties [Delaware government], Mr Cæsar Rodney, and Mr [Thomas] McKean

Maryland, Mr Thos Johnson, and Mr [Robert] Goldsborough.

Virginia, Mr [Richard Henry] Lee, and Mr [Edmund] Pendleton.

South Carolina, Mr [Thomas] Lynch, and Mr J[ohn] Rutledge.[1]

[1] The Committee to "state the rights &c" met on the 8th, entered into the subject, and adjourned. John Adams says the Committee sat all day, "and a most ingenious, entertaining debate we had." This debate is summarized in his *Works*, II, 370. Another meeting was held on the 9th. "Agreed to found our rights upon the laws of Nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and charters and compacts; ordered a Sub-Committee to draw up a Statement of Rights." (*Ward.*) Galloway and Duane were for excluding the law of nature; John Adams insisted on retaining it. A second question was the authority to be conceded to Parliament; "whether we should deny the authority of Parliament in all cases; whether we should allow any authority to it in our internal affairs; or whether we should allow it to regulate the trade of the Empire with or without any restrictions" *Adams.* The sub-committee, of which John Adams and John Rutledge were members, held sessions from the 10th to the 14th, and then reported to the great Committee, where the affair hung so long that other members of Congress were "jealous." On the 22d a report was made to Congress.

On the 14th the great Committee appointed a sub-committee to "state the infringements of our rights." The report was laid before Congress on the 24th.

Agreed, that the second Committee consist of one chosen from each Colony, as follows:—

New Hampshire, Mr. [John] Sullivan.
Massachusetts Bay, Mr. [Thomas] Cushing.
Rhode Island, Mr. [Stephen] Hopkins.
Connecticut, Mr. [Silas] Deane.
New York, Mr. [Isaac] Low.
New Jersey, Mr. [James] Kinsey.
Pennsylvania, Mr. [Thomas] Mifflin.
3 counties, Mr. [George] Read.
Maryland, Mr. [Samuel] Chase.
Virginia, Mr. [Patrick] Henry.
South Carolina, Mr. [Christopher] Gadsden.

Ordered, That Isaac Lefevre and James Lynch, be employed as Door-Keepers and messengers to this Congress.

Resolved, That the President may adjourn the Congress from day to day, when he finds there is no business prepared to be laid before them, and may, when he finds it necessary, call them together before the time to which they may stand adjourned.

Adjourned until to-morrow Morning, 9 o'Clock.

THURSDAY [SEPTEMBER 8,] 9 O'CLOCK A. M.

The Congress is farther adjourned till to-morrow morning at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY [SEPTEMBER 9] 9 O'CLOCK A. M.

The President agreeable to the resolve of the 7th Inst. adjourned the Congress till tomorrow at 9 o'Clock.

SATURDAY [SEPTEMBER 10] 9 O'CLOCK A. M.[1]

Adjourned till Monday next at 9 o'Clock.

[1] This is the first entry in the MS. *Journals* made by Charles Thomson.
In the printed Journals the entries for September 8, 9, and 10 were omitted, and the following entry made: "The President, agreeable to the resolve of the seventh Inst, adjourned the Congress from day to day until."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1774.

Matthew Tilghman, Esq.r one of the delegates from Maryland, appeared and took his seat in Congress.

No business being prepared for the Congress, the President adjourned it till tuesday, & from Tuesday till wednesday.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1774, A. M.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, Esq.rs two of the deputies from North-Carolina, attended the Congress, & produced their credentials, as follows:

North-Carolina, at a general meeting of deputies of the Inhabitants of this province, New Bern, the 25th day of August, Anno Domini 1774:

Resolved, That we approve of the proposal of a general Congress, to be held in the City of Philadelphia, on the twentieth day of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures, as they may deem prudent, to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breaches made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under the sanction of public Authority.

Resolved, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, and every of them, be deputies to attend such Congress, and they are hereby invested with such powers, as may make any acts done by them, or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honour upon every inhabitant hereof, who is not an alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the liberties of America.

Signed, JOHN HARVEY, *Moderator*.
Attested, ANDREW KNOX, *Clerk*.

The above being read and approved, the deputies took their seats.

Henry Wisner, a delegate from the County of Orange, in the Colony of New-York, appeared at Congress, & produced a certificate of his election by the said county,

which being read and approved, he took his seat in congress as a deputy for the Colony of New-York.

George Ross, Esqr one of the delegates for the province of Pennsylvania, & John Alsop, Esqr one of the delegates for the Colony of New-York, appeared & took their seats in Congress.

Ordered, That William Hooper & Joseph Hewes, Esq^{rs} from North-Carolina, be added to the committee appointed to state the Rights of the Colonies, &c.

& That William Hooper, Esqr be one of the Committee appointed to report the statutes, which affect the trade, &c. of the colonies.

The delegates from the Province of Massachusetts-bay, agreeable to a request from the joint committees of every town & district in the county of Middlesex, in the s^{d} province, communicated to the Congress the proceedings of those committees at Concord, on the 30th & 31st days of August last, which were read.[1]

Adjourned until to-morrow at 9 oClock.

No business being prepared, the Congress was adjourned from day to day, till Saturday morning, at 9 oClock.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1774, A. M.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Richard Caswell, Esqr one of the deputies from North-Carolina, appeared, and took his seat in Congress.

The Resolutions entered into by the delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, in the province of the Massachusetts-bay, on tuesday the 6th instant, and their address to his excellency Govr

[1] These proceedings were issued as a broadside, and copies are in the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass., and in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Gage, dated the 9th instant, were laid before the congress, and are as follows:

At a meeting of the delegates of every town & district in the county of Suffolk, on tuesday the 6th of Sept^r, at the house of Mr Richard Woodward, of Deadham, & by adjournment, at the house of Mr. [Daniel] Vose, of Milton, on Friday the 9th instant, Joseph Palmer, esq. being chosen moderator, and William Thompson, esq. clerk, a committee was chosen to bring in a report to the convention, and the following being several times read, and put paragraph by paragraph, was unanimously voted, viz.

Whereas the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom of Great-Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity: And whereas, this, then savage and uncultivated desart, was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valor of those our venerable progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dearbought inheritance, to our care and protection they consigned it, and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions. If a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious minister, they basely yield to voluntary slavery, and future generations shall load their memories with incessant execrations.—On the other hand, if we arrest the hand which would ransack our pockets, if we disarm the parricide which points the dagger to our bosoms, if we nobly defeat that fatal edict which proclaims a power to frame laws for us in all cases whatsoever, thereby entailing the endless and numberless curses of slavery upon us, our heirs and their heirs forever; if we successfully resist that unparalleled usurpation of unconstitutional power, whereby our capital is robbed of the means of life; whereby the streets of Boston are thronged with military executioners; whereby our coasts are lined and harbours crouded with ships of war; whereby the charter of the colony, that sacred barrier against the encroachments of tyranny, is mutilated and, in effect, annihilated; whereby a murderous law is framed to shelter villains from the hands of justice; whereby the unalienable and inestimable inheritance, which

we derived from nature, the constitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the charter of the province, is totally wrecked, annulled, and vacated, posterity will acknowledge that virtue which preserved them free and happy; and while we enjoy the rewards and blessings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyrists will roll our reputations to that latest period, when the streams of time shall be absorbed in the abyss of eternity.—Therefore, we have resolved, and do *resolve*,

1. That whereas his majesty, George the Third, is the rightful successor to the throne of Great-Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and agreeable to compact, of the English colonies in America—therefore, we, the heirs and successors of the first planters of this colony, do cheerfully acknowledge the said George the Third to be our rightful sovereign, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.

2. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to God, our country, ourselves and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power to maintain, defend and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

3. That the late acts of the British parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the established form of government in this colony, and for screening the most flagitious violators of the laws of the province from a legal trial, are gross infractions of those rights to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British constitution, and the charter of the province.

4. That no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts above-mentioned, but that they be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

5. That so long as the justices of our superior court of judicature, court of assize, &c. and inferior court of common pleas in this county are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the charter and the laws of the province direct, they must be considered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconstitutional officers, and, as such, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this county.

6. That if the justices of the superior court of judicature, assize, &c. justices of the court of common pleas, or of the general sessions of the peace, shall sit and act during their present disqualified state, this county will support, and bear harmless, all sheriffs and their deputies,

constables, jurors and other officers who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of said courts; and, as far as possible, to prevent the many inconveniencies which must be occasioned by a suspension of the courts of justice, we do most earnestly recommend it to all creditors, that they shew all reasonable and even generous forbearance to their debtors; and to all debtors, to pay their just debts with all possible speed, and if any disputes relative to debts or trespasses shall arise, which cannot be settled by the parties, we recommend it to them to submit all such causes to arbitration; and it is our opinion that the contending parties or either of them, who shall refuse so to do, ought to be considered as co-operating with the enemies of this country.

7. That it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, constables and all other officers, who have public monies in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer until the civil government of the province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed provincial Congress.

8. That the persons who have accepted seats at the council board, by virtue of a mandamus from the King, in conformity to the late act of the British parliament, entitled, an act for the regulating the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and just offence to this people; therefore, resolved, that this county do recommend it to all persons, who have so highly offended by accepting said departments, and have not already publicly resigned their seats at the council board, to make public resignations of their places at said board, on or before the 20th day of this instant, September; and that all persons refusing so to do, shall, from and after said day, be considered by this county as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country.

9. That the fortifications begun and now carrying on upon Boston Neck, are justly alarming to this county, and gives us reason to apprehend some hostile intention against that town, more especially as the commander in chief has, in a very extraordinary manner, removed the powder from the magazine at Charlestown, and has also forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boston, to deliver out to the owners, the powder, which they had lodged in said magazine.

10. That the late act of parliament for establishing the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country, now

called Canada, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion and to the civil rights and liberties of all America; and, therefore, as men and Protestant Christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.

11. That whereas our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave and hardy people, from an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline; we, therefore, for the honour, defence and security of this county and province, advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons, be elected in each town as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of those towns and districts, who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do, for that purpose, appear under arms at least once every week.

12. That during the present hostile appearances on the part of Great-Britain, notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which we most sensibly resent, yet, nevertheless, from our affection to his majesty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer.

13. That, as we understand it has been in contemplation to apprehend sundry persons of this county, who have rendered themselves conspicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen; we do recommend, should such an audacious measure be put in practice, to seize and keep in safe custody, every servant of the present tyrannical and unconstitutional government throughout the county and province, until the persons so apprehended be liberated from the hands of our adversaries, and restored safe and uninjured to their respective friends and families.

14. That until our rights are fully restored to us, we will, to the utmost of our power, and we recommend the same to the other counties, to withhold all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, and abstain from the consumption of British merchandise and manufactures, and especially of East-India teas and piece goods, with such additions, alterations, and exceptions only, as the General Congress of the colonies may agree to.

15. That under our present circumstances, it is incumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures amongst us, by all means in our power, and that[1]

be and are hereby appointed a committee, to consider of the best ways and means to promote and establish the same, and to report to this convention as soon as may be.

16. That the exigencies of our public affairs, demand that a provincial Congress be called to consult such measures as may be adopted, and vigorously executed by the whole people; and we do recommend it to the several towns in this county, to chuse members for such a provincial Congress, to be holden at Concord, on the second Tuesday of October, next ensuing.

17. That this county, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, pay all due respect and submission to such measures as may be recommended by them to the colonies, for the restoration and establishment of our just rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great-Britain and the colonies, so earnestly wished for by all good men.

18. That whereas the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men, arising from the wicked and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some unthinking persons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all persons of this community, not to engage in any routs, riots, or licentious attacks upon the properties of any person whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies, that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country.

19. That should our enemies, by any sudden manœuvres, render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the committee of correspondence, or a select man of such town, or the town adjoining, where such hostilities shall commence, or shall be expected to commence, shall despatch couriers with written messages to the select men, or committees of correspondence, of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter,

[1] The names of those appointed on this committee were Joseph Palmer, of Braintree; Ebenezer Dorr, of Roxbury; James Boies and Edward Preston, of Milton, and Nathaniel Guild, of Walpole.

who shall despatch others to committees more remote, until proper and sufficient assistance be obtained, and that the expense of said couriers be defrayed by the county, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the provincial Congress.[1]

At a meeting of delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, held at Milton, on Friday, the 9th day of September, 1774—*Voted*,

That Dr. Joseph Warren, of Boston, &c.[2] be a committee to wait on his excellency the governor, to inform him, that this county are alarmed at the fortifications making on Boston Neck, and to remonstrate against the same, and the repeated insults offered by the soldiery, to persons passing and repassing into that town, and to confer with him upon those subjects.

Attest, WILLIAM THOMPSON, *Clerk.*

"*To his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq. captain-general, and commander in chief of his majesty's province of Massachusetts-Bay.*

"May it please your excellency,

"The county of Suffolk, being greatly, and, in their opinion, justly alarmed at the formidable appearances of hostility, now threatening his majesty's good subjects of this county, and more particularly of the town of Boston, the loyal and faithful capital of this province, beg leave to address your excellency, and represent, that the apprehensions of the people are more particularly encreased by the dangerous design, now carrying into execution, of repairing and manning the fortifications at the south entrance of the town of Boston, which, when completed, may, at any time, be improved to aggravate the miseries of that already impoverished and distressed city, by intercepting the wonted and necessary intercourse between the town and country, and compel the wretched inhabitants to the most ignominious state of humiliation

[1] Thus far was issued in Boston as a broadside, a copy of which is to be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. The language differs somewhat in the two versions.

[2] The names of this committee were printed in the newspaper accounts, and were as follows:

Dr Benjamin Church, Boston; Deacon Joseph Palmer, Germantown; Capt. Lemuel Robinson, Dorchester; Capt. William Heath, Roxbury; Col. Ebenezer Thayer, Braintree; William Holden, Esq. Dorchester; Col. William Taylor, Milton; Capt. John Homans, Dorchester; Isaac Gardiner, Esq., Brooklyn; Mr. Richard Woodward, Dedham; Capt. Benjamin White, Brooklyn; Dr. Samuel Gardiner, Milton; Nathaniel Summer, Esq., Dedham; Capt Thomas Aspinwall, Brooklyn.

and vassalage, by depriving them of the necessary supplies of provision, for which they are chiefly dependant on that communication. We have been informed, that your excellency, in consequence of the application of the select men of Boston, has, indeed, disavowed any intention to injure the town in your present manœuvres, and expressed your purpose to be for the security of the troops and his majesty's subjects in the town, we are therefore at a loss to guess, may it please your excellency, from whence your want of confidence in the loyal and orderly people of this vicinity could originate; a measure, so formidable, carried into execution from a pre-conceived though causeless jealousy of the insecurity of his majesty's troops and subjects in the town, deeply wounds the loyalty, and is an additional injury to the faithful subjects of this county, and affords them a strong motive for this application. We therefore intreat your excellency to desist from your design, assuring your excellency, that the people of this county, are by no means disposed to injure his majesty's troops; they think themselves aggrieved and oppressed by the late acts of parliament, and are resolved, by Divine assistance, never to submit to them, but have no inclination to commence a war with his majesty's troops, and beg leave to observe to your excellency, that the ferment now excited in the minds of the people, is occasioned by some late transactions, by seizing the powder in the arsenal at Charlestown; by withholding the powder lodged in the magazine of the town of Boston, from the legal proprietors; insulting, beating, and abusing passengers to and from the town by the soldiery, in which they have been encouraged by some of their officers; putting the people in fear, and menacing them in their nightly patrole into the neighbouring towns, and more particularly by the fortifying the sole avenue by land to the town of Boston.

"In duty therefore to his majesty and to your excellency, and for the restoration of order and security to this county, we the delegates from the several towns in this county, being commissioned for this purpose, beg your excellency's attention to this our humble and faithful address, assuring you, that nothing less than an immediate removal of the ordnance, and restoring the entrance into the town to its former state, and an effectual stop of all insults and abuses in future, can place the inhabitants of this county in that state of peace and tranquillity, in which every free subject ought to be."

His excellency was waited on to know if he would receive the committee with the above written address, but desiring he might have a copy of it in a private way, that so when he received it from the

committee, he might have an answer prepared for them, he was accordingly furnished with a copy. His excellency then declared, that he would receive the committee on Monday, at 12 o'clock.

The Congress, taking the foregoing into consideration, *Resolved unan*, That this assembly deeply feels the suffering of their countrymen in the Massachusetts-Bay, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British Parliament—that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren, a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct as expressed in the resolutions determined upon, at a [*late*] meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk, on Tuesday, the 6th instant, trusting that the effect [*s*] of the united efforts of North America in their behalf, will carry such conviction to the British nation, of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures.[1]

[1] Eluding the prohibition of town meetings, a meeting was convened first at Dedham and then at Milton, before which was laid a set of resolutions prepared by Joseph Warren. They were adopted on September 9, and became known as the "Suffolk Resolves." They were sent express to Congress by Paul Revere, who reached Philadelphia on Friday, September 16, and delivered them to the Massachusetts delegates. On the day after, they were laid before Congress, and were acted upon the same day. "This was one of the happiest days of my life," noted John Adams in his Diary. "In Congress we had generous, noble sentiments, and manly eloquence. This day convinced me that America will support the Massachusetts or perish with her." And to his wife he wrote: "These votes were passed in full Congress with perfect unanimity. The esteem, the affection, the admiration for the people of Boston and the Massachusetts, which were expressed yesterday, and the fixed determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt a heart of stone. I saw the tears gush into the eyes of the old, grave, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania." Samuel Adams wrote that the resolves were "read with great applause," and that the Congress was unanimous in its resolutions. Quincy, *Life of Quincy*, 155. Silas Deane noted that the two resolutions of Congress were passed

Resolved unan, That contributions from all the colonies for supplying the necessities, and alleviating the distresses of our brethren at Boston, ought to be continued, in such manner, and so long as their occasions may require.[1]

Ordered, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to Boston by the president.

Ordered, That these resolutions, together with the resolutions of the County of Suffolk, be published in the newspapers.

The committee appointed to examine & report the several statutes, which affect the trade and manufactures of

without one dissenting voice, though all the members were present." Ford, *Correspondence of Samuel Blachley Webb*, I, 39. Jones believed that this endorsement by Congress put an end to the usefulness of the Tories or Loyalists in the Congress.

To indorse the Suffolk resolves was but a step in the policy of the Massachusetts delegation. On the 24th of September the two Adams talked with Dickinson—"a true Bostonian" was Samuel Adams' comment. "The Congress have, in their resolve of the 17th instant, given their sanction to the resolutions of the county of Suffolk, one of which is to act merely upon the defensive so long as such conduct may be justified by reason and the principles of self-preservation,—*but no longer*. They have great dependence upon your tried patience and fortitude. They suppose you mean to defend your civil Constitution. They strongly recommend perseverance and a firm and temperate conduct, and give you a full pledge of their united efforts in your behalf. They have not yet come to final resolutions. It becomes them to be deliberate. I have been assured, in private conversation with individuals, that if you should be driven to the necessity of acting in self-defence of your lives or liberties, you would be justified by their constituents, and openly supported by all the means in their power" *Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren*, September 25, 1774. On the following day John Adams wrote of the numberless prejudices to be removed. "We have been obliged to act with great delicacy and caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of sight, and to feel the pulses of and sound the depths; to insinuate our sentiments, designs, and desires, by means of other persons; sometimes of one Province, and sometimes of another" *To Judge Tudor*, September 26, 1774. A good illustration of this labor is given in the meeting with Shippen, Richard Henry Lee and Washington, on the evening of the 28th. *Washington to Robert Mackenzie*, October 9, 1774. As a result of these deliberations, the resolutions of the 30th here printed must have been framed and submitted; but as events proved, too early to be adopted. And this, too, in the face of a belief of Adams that all Congress "profess to consider our Province as suffering in the common cause, and indeed they seem to feel for us, as if for themselves" *To his wife*, September 29, 1774.

[1] A *ms.* copy of these resolutions, in the writing of Richard Henry Lee, is among the *Lee Papers*. It does not, however, follow that he was the framer.

the colonies, brought in their report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Adjourned till Monday morning.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1774. A. M.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The report brought in on Saturday being read, as follows:

Here insert this report:

Ordered, That the same be referred to the committee appointed to state the rights of the Colonies, &c. to which committee, the honble Thomas Cushing, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Mifflin, Esquires were added.

Adjourned from day to day, till Thursday.[1]

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22d, 1774.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Upon motion,

Resolved unanimously, That the Congress request the Merchants and others in the several colonies, not to send to Great Britain, any orders for goods, and to direct the execution of all orders already sent, to be delayed or suspended, until the sense of the Congress, on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America, is made public.

Ordered, That this resolution be made public by handbills,[2] and by publishing it in the newspapers.

[1] "21st. Desired a Congress to be held." *Ward.* The great Committee was ready to report.

[2] A broadside was issued by W and T. Bradford, and is reproduced on opposite page, from a copy in the Simitière collection in the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The committee appointed to state the rights of the colonies &c. having brought in a report of the Rights, the same was read, and the consideration of it referred till Saturday next.

Ordered, That a copy of this report be made out for each colony.

SATURDAY, SEPTR 24, 1774, A. M.

The Congress entered upon the consideration of the report referred to this day, and after some debate, upon motion,

Resolved, That the congress do confine themselves, at present, to the consideration of such rights only as have been infringed by acts of the British parliament since the year 1763, postponing the further consideration of the general state of American rights to a future day.

Hereupon, the Committee appointed to state the rights &c. brought in a report of the infringements and violations of American rights, which being read—upon motion,[1]

Resolved, That the consideration of the report be referred till Monday and that the Congress in the meanwhile deliberate on the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of our rights.

After some debate on the subject, the Congress adjourned.

MONDAY, SEPTR 26, 1774 A. M.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

John Herring,[2] Esqr a deputy from Orange county, in the colony of New-York, appeared this morning, and took his seat as a delegate for that colony.

[1] Prepared by John Sullivan. See p. 63, *post*.
[2] John Haring.

RESOLUTION NOT TO IMPORT

PHILADELPHIA.

In CONGRESS, Thursday, September 22, 1774.

RESOLVED,

THAT the Congress request the Merchants and Others, in the several Colonies, not to send to Great Britain any Orders for Goods, and to direct the execution of all Orders already sent, to be delayed or suspended, until the sense of the Congress, on the means to be taken for the preservation of the Liberties of *America*, is made public.

An Extract from the Minutes,
CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec.*

Printed by *W.* and *T. BRADFORD.*

The Congress resumed the consideration of the means, &c. and after several hours spent thereon, it was referred till to-morrow, to which time the Congress was adjourned.[1]

TUESDAY, SEPTR 27, 1774, A M

The Congress met according to adjournment, and resuming the consideration of the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights,

Resolved unanimously, That from and after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America from Great Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares or merchandizes whatsoever, or from any other place, of any such goods, wares or merchandizes, as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; and that no such goods, wares or merchandizes imported after the said first day of December next, be used or purchased.[2]

Adjourned till to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1774.

Wednesday. [Here insert Mr. Galloway's motion and Plan.[3]]

GALLOWAY'S PLAN.

With this plan appear to have been submitted two sets of introductory resolutions; but I am doubtful whether both sets were laid before Congress. Early in December, Galloway visited Governor Franklin and Lieutenant-Governor Colden, and gave to each a copy of his *Plan of Union*. Franklin's copy was transmitted to Dartmouth with introductory resolutions looking to a recommendation of the *plan* to the Colonial Assemblies. Colden transmitted with his copy, "two sets" of resolves,—unfortunately not printed with his letter. In Galloway's pamphlet *A Candid Examination*

[1] "26th. The Congress met, agreed upon non-importation, and adjourned." *Samuel Ward.*

[2] It was Richard Henry Lee who made a motion "for a non-importation." The debate is sketched in John Adams, II, 382.

[3] These words are in Thomson's writing, but were struck out. The entry is in a different ink from that of the main record.

is printed an introduction looking to a direct appeal to the King and Parliament, without any previous consideration of the plan by the Colonial Assemblies. In his examination, in 1779, by a Committee of the House of Commons, Galloway read this second introductory resolve, "in my own handwriting, which identically was delivered by me in Congress. It is indorsed in the hand of Charles Thomson, the then and present secretary to Congress."

In his *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*, Galloway gives the speech he delivered on the motion involving his plan.

Introductory to his motion which led to this plan, the author of it made, in substance, the following speech, which is taken from his short notes: "He told Congress that he came with instructions to propose some mode, by which the harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies might be restored on constitutional principles: that this appeared to be the genuine sense of all the instructions brought into Congress by the Delegates of the several Colonies. He had long waited with great patience under an expectation of hearing some proposition which should tend to that salutary and important purpose; but, to his great mortification and distress, a month had been spent in fruitless debates on equivocal and indecisive propositions, which tended to inflame rather than reconcile—to produce war instead of peace between the two countries. In this disagreeable situation of things he thought it his incumbent duty to speak plainly, and to give his sentiments without the least reserve.

There are two propositions before the Congress for restoring the wished-for harmony: one, that Parliament should be requested to place the Colonies in the state they were in in the year 1763; the other, that a non-exportation and non-importation agreement should be adopted. I will consider these propositions, and venture to reject them both; the first, as indecisive, tending to mislead both countries, and to lay a foundation for further discontent and quarrel; the other, as illegal, and ruinous to America.

The first proposition is indecisive, because it points out no ground of complaint—asks for a restoration of no right, settles no principle, and proposes no plan for accommodating the dispute. There is no statute which has been passed to tax or bind the Colonies since the year 1763, which was not founded on precedents and statutes of a similar nature before that period; and therefore the proposition, while it expressly denies the right of Parliament, confesses it by the strongest implication. In short, it is nugatory, and without meaning; and however it may serve, when rejected by Parliament, as it certainly will be, to form a charge of injustice upon, and to deceive and inflame the minds of the people hereafter, it cannot possibly answer any other purpose.

The second proposition is undutiful and illegal: it is an insult on the supreme authority of the State; it cannot fail to draw on the Colonies the united resentment of the Mother Country. If we will not trade with Great Britain, she will not suffer us to trade at all. Our ports will be blocked up by British men of war, and troops will be sent to reduce us to reason and obedience. A total and sudden stagnation of commerce is what no country can bear: it must bring ruin on the Colonies: the produce of labour must perish on their hands, and not only the progress of industry be stopped, but industry and labour will cease, and the country itself be thrown into anarchy and tumult. I must therefore reject both the propositions; the first as indecisive, and the other as inadmissible upon any principle of prudence or policy.

If we sincerely mean to accommodate the difference between the two countries, and to establish their union on more firm and constitutional principles, we must take into consideration a number of facts which led the Parliament to pass the acts complained of, since the year 1763, and the real state of the Colonies. A clear and perfect knowledge of these matters only can lead us to the ground of substantial redress and permanent harmony. I will therefore call your recollection to the dangerous situation of the Colonies from the intrigues of France, and the incursions of the Canadians and their Indian allies, at the commencement of the last war. None of us can be ignorant of the just sense they then entertained of that danger, and of their incapacity to defend themselves against it, nor of the supplications made to the Parent State for its assistance, nor of the cheerfulness with which Great-Britain sent over her fleets and armies for their protection, of the millions she expended in that protection, and of the happy consequences which attended it.

In this state of the Colonies, it was not unreasonable to expect that Parliament would have levied a tax on them proportionate to their wealth, and the sums raised in Great Britain. Her ancient right, so often exercised, and never controverted, enabled her, and the occasion invited her, to do it. And yet, not knowing their wealth, a generous tenderness arising from the fear of doing them injustice, induced Parliament to forbear to levy aids upon them—It left the Colonies to do justice to themselves and to the nation. And moreover, in order to allure them to a discharge of their duty, it offered to reimburse those Colonies which should generously grant the aids that were necessary to their own safety. But what was the conduct of the Colonies on this occasion, in which their own existence was immediately concerned? However painful it may be for me to repeat, or you to hear, I must remind you of it. You all know there were Colonies which at some times granted liberal aids, and at others nothing; other Colonies gave nothing during the war; none gave equitably in proportion to their wealth, and all that did give were actuated by partial and self-interested motives, and gave only in proportion to the approach or remoteness of the danger. These delinquencies were occasioned by the want of the exercise of some supreme power to ascertain, with equity, their proportions of aids, and to over-rule the particular passions, prejudices, and interests, of the several Colonies.

To remedy these mischiefs, Parliament was naturally led to exercise the power which had been, by its predecessors, so often exercised over the Colonies, and to pass the Stamp Act. Against this act, the Colonies petitioned Parliament, and denied its authority. Instead of proposing some remedy, by which that authority should be rendered more equitable and more constitutional over the Colonies, the petitions rested in a declaration that the Colonies could not be represented in that body. This justly alarmed the British Senate. It was thought and called by the ablest men and Britain, a clear and explicit declaration of the American Independence, and compelled the Parliament to pass the Declaratory Act, in order to save its ancient and incontrovertible right of supremacy over all the parts of the empire. By this injudicious step the cause of our complaints became fixed, and instead of obtaining a constitutional reformation of the authority of Parliament over the Colonies, it brought on an explicit declaration of a right in Parliament to exercise absolute and unparticipated power over them. Nothing now can be wanting to convince us, that the Assemblies have pursued measures which have produced no relief, and answered no purpose but a bad one. I therefore hope that the collected wisdom of Congress will perceive and avoid former mistakes; that they will candidly and thor-

oughly examine the real merits of our dispute with the Mother Country, and take such ground as shall firmly unite us under one system of polity, and make us one people.

In order to establish those principles, upon which alone American relief ought, in reason and policy, to be founded, I will take a brief view of the arguments on both sides of the great question between the two countries—a question in its magnitude and importance exceeded by none that has been ever agitated in the councils of any nation. The advocates for the supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies contend, that there must be one supreme legislative head in every civil society, whose authority must extend to the regulation and final decision of every matter susceptible of human direction; and that every member of the society, whether political, official, or individual, must be subordinate to its supreme will, signified in its laws: that this supremacy and subordination are essential in the constitution of all States, whatever may be their forms; that no society ever did or could exist, without it; and that these truths are solidly established in the practice of all governments, and confirmed by the concurrent authority of all writers on the subject of civil society.

These advocates also assert, what we cannot deny—That the discovery of the Colonies was made under a commission granted by the supreme authority of the British State, that they have been settled under that authority, and therefore are truly the property of that State. Parliamentary jurisdiction has been constantly exercised over them from their first settlement; its executive authority has ever run through all their inferior political systems: the Colonists have ever sworn allegiance to the British State, and have been considered, both by the State and by themselves, as subjects of the British Government. Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; the one cannot exist without the other. The Colonies cannot claim the protection of Britain upon any principle of reason or law, while they deny its supreme authority. Upon this ground the authority of Parliament stands too firm to be shaken by any arguments whatever; and therefore to deny that authority, and at the same time to declare their incapacity to be represented, amounts to a full and explicit declaration of independence.

In regard to the political state of the Colonies, you must know that they are so many inferior societies, disunited and unconnected in polity. That while they deny the authority of Parliament, they are, in respect to each other, in a perfect state of nature, destitute of any supreme direction or decision whatever, and incompetent to the grant of national aids, or any other general measure whatever, even to the settlement of differences among themselves. This they have repeatedly acknowledged, and particularly by their delegates in Congress in the beginning of the last war; and the aids granted by them since that period, for their own protection, are a proof of the truth of that acknowledgment.

You also knew that the seeds of discord are plentifully sowed in the constitution of the Colonies; that they are already grown to maturity, and have more than once broke out into open hostilities. They are at this moment only suppressed by the authority of the Parent State; and should that authority be weakened or annulled, many subjects of unsettled disputes, and which in that case, can only be settled by an appeal to the sword, must involve us in all the horrors of civil war. You will now consider whether you wish to be destitute of the protection of Great Britain, or to see a renewal of the claims of France upon America; or to remain in our present disunited state, the weak exposed to the force of the strong. I am sure no honest man can entertain wishes so ruinous to his country.

Having thus briefly stated the arguments in favour of parliamentary authority, and considered the state of the Colonies, I am free to confess that the exercise of that authority is not perfectly constitutional in respect to the Colonies. We know that the whole landed interest of Britain is represented in that body, while neither the land nor the people of America hold the least participation in the legislative authority of the State. Representation, or a participation in the supreme councils of the State, is the great principle upon which the freedom of the British Government is established and secured. I also acknowledge, that that territory whose people have no enjoyment of this privilege, are subject to an authority unrestrained and absolute; and if the liberty of the subject were not essentially concerned in it, I should reject a distinction so odious between members of the same state, so long as it shall be continued. I wish to see it exploded, and the right to participate in the supreme councils of the State extended, in some form, not only to America, but to all the British dominions; otherwise I fear that profound and excellent fabrick of civil polity will, ere long, crumble to pieces.

The case of the Colonies is not a new one. It was formerly the very situation of Wales, Durham and Chester.

As to the tax, it is neither unjust or oppressive, it being rather a relief than a burthen; but it is want of constitutional principle in the authority that passed it, which is the ground for complaint. This, and this only, is the source of American grievances. Here, and here only, is the defect; and if this defect were removed, a foundation would be laid for the relief of every American complaint; the obnoxious statutes would of course be repealed, and others would be made, with the assent of the Colonies, to answer the same and better purposes; the mischiefs arising from the disunion of the Colonies would be removed; their freedom would be established, and their subordination fixed on solid constitutional principles.

Desirous as I am to promote the freedom of the Colonies, and to prevent the mischiefs which will attend a military contest with Great-Britain, I must intreat you to desert the measures which have been so injudiciously and ineffectually pursued by antecedent Assemblies. Let us thoroughly investigate the subject matter in dispute, and endeavour to find from that investigation the means of perfect and permanent redress. In whatever we do, let us be particular and explicit, and not wander in general allegations. These will lead us to no point, nor can produce any relief; they are besides dishonourable and insidious. I would therefore acknowledge the necessity of the supreme authority of Parliament over the Colonies, because it is a proposition which we cannot deny without manifest contradiction, while we confess that we are subjects of the British Government; and if we do not approve of a representation in Parliament, let us ask for a participation in the freedom and power of the English constitution in some other mode of incorporation: for I am convinced, by long attention to the subject, that let us deliberate, and try what other expedients we may, we shall find none that can give to the Colonies substantial freedom, but some such incorporation. I therefore beseech you, by the respect you are bound to pay to the instructions of your constituents, by the regard you have for the honour and safety of your country, and as you wish to avoid a war with Great-Britain, which must terminate, at all events in the ruin of America, not to rely on a denial of the authority of Parliament, a refusal to be represented, and on a non-importation agreement; because whatever protestations, in that case, may be made to the contrary, it will prove to the world that we intend to throw off our allegiance to the State, and to involve the two countries in all the horrors of a civil war.

With a view to promote the measure I have so earnestly recommended, I have prepared the draught of a plan for uniting America more intimately, in constitutional policy, with Great Britain. It contains the great outlines or principles only, and will require many additions in case those should be approved. I am certain when dispassionately considered, it will be found to be the most perfect union in power and liberty with the Parent State, next to a representation in Parliament, and I trust it will be approved of by both countries. In forming it, I have been particularly attentive to the rights of both; and I am confident that no American, who wishes to continue a subject of the British State, which is what we all uniformly profess, can offer any reasonably objection against it.

I shall not enter into a further explanation of its principles, but shall reserve my sentiments until the second reading, with which I hope it will be favoured."

The introductory motion being seconded, the Plan was presented and read. Warm and long debates immediately ensued on the question, Whether it should be entered in the proceedings of Congress, or be referred to further consideration. All the men of property, and most of the ablest speakers, supported the motion, while the republican party strenuously opposed it.

The question was at length carried by a majority of one Colony.

From Galloway, *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*, (1780), 70.

Governor Franklin's version.

Resolved, That there is a manifest *Defect* in the Constitution of the British Empire in respect to the Government of the Colonies upon those principles of Liberty which form an essential Part of that Constitution; and that such Defect has arisen from the circumstance of Colonization which was not included in the System of the British Government at the Time of its Institution, nor has been provided for since.

Resolved, That the Colonists hold in Abhorance the Idea of being considered Independent Communities on the British Government, and most ardently desire the Establishment of a Political Union not only among themselves but with the Mother State upon those principles of Safety and Freedom which are Essential in the Constitution of all free Governments and particularly that of the British Legislature, and Therefore,

Resolved, As the Colonies from their local & other circumstances cannot be represented in the British Parliament, the Congress do most Earnestly recommend (as a Measure of the Greatest Importance in reconciling the Difference between G. Britain and her Colonies,

and restoring them to a permanent Union & Harmony) to the consideration of the several Continental American Assemblies the following Plan of Government to be by them humbly proposed to his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament under which the whole Empire may be drawn together on every Emergency, the Interest of both Countries advanced, and the Rights and Liberties of America secured: viz[t]—

[28 September, 1774.]

Resolution submitted by Joseph Galloway:

Resolved, That the Congress will apply to his Majesty for a redress of grievances under which his faithful subjects in America labour; and assure him, that the Colonies hold in abhorrence the idea of being considered independent communities on the British government, and most ardently desire the establishment of a Political Union, not only among themselves, but with the Mother State, upon those principles of safety and freedom which are essential in the constitution of all free governments, and particularly that of the British Legislature; and as the Colonies from their local circumstances, cannot be represented in the Parliament of Great-Britain, they will humbly propose to his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament, the following plan, under which the strength of the whole Empire may be drawn together on any emergency, the interest of both countries advanced, and the rights and liberties of America secured.

A Plan of a proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies.

That a British and American legislature, for regulating the administration of the general affairs of America, be proposed and established in America, including all the said colonies; within, and under which government, each colony shall retain its present constitution, and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police, in all cases what[*so*]ever.

That the said government be administered by a President General, to be appointed by the King, and a grand Council, to be chosen by the Representatives of the people of the several colonies, in their respective assemblies, once in every three years.

That the several assemblies shall choose members for the grand council in the following proportions, viz.

New Hampshire.	Delaware Counties.
Massachusetts-Bay.	Maryland.
Rhode Island.	Virginia.
Connecticut.	North Carolina.
New-York.	South-Carolina.
New-Jersey.	Georgia.
Pennsylvania.	

Who shall meet at the city of for the first time, being called by the President-General, as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

That there shall be a new election of members for the Grand Council every three years; and on the death, removal or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice, at the next sitting of Assembly of the Colony he represented.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, if they shall think it necessary, and oftener, if occasions shall require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President-General, on any emergency.

That the grand Council shall have power to choose their Speaker, and shall hold and exercise all the like rights, liberties and privileges, as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great-Britain.

That the President-General shall hold his office during the pleasure of the King, and his assent shall be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and it shall be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

That the President-General, by and with the advice and consent of the Grand-Council, hold and exercise all the legislative rights, powers, and authorities, necessary for regulating and administering all the general police and affairs of the colonies, in which Great-Britain and the colonies, or any of them, the colonies in general, or more than one colony, are in any manner concerned, as well civil and criminal as commercial.

That the said President-General and the Grand Council, be an inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it, for the aforesaid general purposes; and that any of the said general regulations may originate and be formed and digested, either

in the Parliament of Great Britain, or in the said Grand Council, and being prepared, transmitted to the other for their approbation or dissent; and that the assent of both shall be requisite to the validity of all such general acts or statutes.

That in time of war, all bills for granting aid to the crown, prepared by the Grand Council, and approved by the President General, shall be valid and passed into a law, without the assent of the British Parliament.[1]

Wednesday and Thursday[2] being taken up in the consideration and debates on the means, &c., the Congress met on

FRIDAY, SEPT^R 30

and upon the question,

Resolved, That from and after the 10th day of Sept^r, 1775, the exportation of all merchandize and every commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland and the

[1] Galloway has given a history of this *Plan* in his *Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain and the Colonies; with a Plan of Accommodation on Constitutional Principles.* New York: 1775. The resolution was seconded by James Duane. The debates are sketched in John Adams *Works*, II, 387. The plan was entered on the minutes of the Congress, with an order referring it to future consideration; "yet they not only refused to resume the Consideration of it, but directed both the Plan and Order to be erased from their Minutes, so that no vestige of it might appear there." *William Franklin to Earl of Dartmouth*, 6 December, 1774. Samuel Ward says the *Plan* was "not committed, but ordered to lie on the table." See note to the proceedings for 22 October, 1774, *post.* Adolphus says the vote to expunge was passed when the favorers of the *plan* were absent. Some letters and a pamphlet by Galloway on the Congress are to be found in the *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, x, 475–494. Wal.

Galloway sent a copy of his Plan to Benjamin Franklin, who showed it to Lords Chatham and Camden. He also sent a copy to Dartmouth. Franklin wrote in reply a very pregnant letter in which he said: "Lord Gower, I believe, alluded to it when in the House he censured the Congress severely as first resolving to receive a plan for uniting the colonies to the mother country, and afterwards rejecting it, and ordering their first resolution to be erased out of their minutes." Dartmouth wrote to Colden, 7 January, 1775, "The Idea of Union upon some general constitutional plan, is certainly very just, & I have no doubt of its being yet attainable through some channell of mutual consideration and discussion."

[2] "29th. The Congress met, considered a non-importation of all dutiable goods, and a non-exportation to Great Britain." *Samuel Ward.* According to John Adams's notes it was Mifflin who "proposes stoppage of flaxseed and lumber to the West Indies, and non-importation of dutied articles."

West Indies, ought to cease, unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time.[1]

[1] While most of the colonies came readily into a non-importation agreement, a proposition to stop all exports encountered great opposition. This proposition could hardly have come from a southern colony, though John and Edward Rutledge did call for all "ways and means" for obtaining a redress of grievances, and a non-exportation was needed to give support to a non-importation. The interests of the colonies were different. The Eastern and middle provinces were interested in the West Indian trade, while the exports of the Southern found their markets almost wholly in Europe. Yet Chase, coming from a tobacco colony asserted that a non-exportation was of vastly more importance than a non-importation, as it would affect merchants as well as manufacturers, trade as well as revenue. He merely echoed the prevailing opinion that a total stoppage of all trade with Great Britain and the West Indies would produce a national bankruptcy in a very short time. Virginia pleaded for a postponement of a non-exportation, one so distant that it could not operate before the fall of 1776, besides pleading a want of powers to enter into any agreement affecting exports. Without Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina could not act, while South Carolina refused to accede to any measure which should prohibit the exportation of rice or indigo. Virginia withdrew its opposition, and South Carolina gained the exception of rice from the non-exportation.

Among the John Adams MSS. is a draft of some resolutions endorsed September 30, embodying an immediate cessation of exports to Great Britain and her colonies. As it was probably these resolutions that led to the debate, they are here printed.

"*Resolved*, That the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and the town of Boston are now suffering and struggling in the common cause of American freedom, and, therefore, that it is the indispensable duty of all the Colonies to support them by every necessary means, and to the last extremity.

"Whereas hostilities have been already commenced against the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and through them against all the Colonies, and whereas this Congress have already advised the people of that Province by no means to submit to the late act of Parliament for altering their government,—

"*Resolved*, That in case hostilities should be further pursued against that Province, and submission be attempted to be compelled by force of arms, as soon as intelligence of this shall be communicated to the several Colonies, they ought immediately to cease all exportations of goods, wares, and merchandise, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies.

"*Resolved*, That in case any person or persons should be arrested, in the Massachusetts Bay or any other Colony, by General Gage or any other person, in order to be sent to Great Britain to be there tried for any crime whatsoever, committed in America, under pretence of authority of the statute of Henry VIII, or that of the present reign, this ought to be considered as a declaration of war and a commencement of hostilities against all the Colonies, and reprisals ought to be made in all the Colonies and held as hostages for the security of the person or persons so arrested; and all exportations of merchandise to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, ought immediately to cease."

It will be noticed that a part of these resolutions seem to have been used in the instructions to the committee, October 7th, and the resolution of October 8th.

AUTHORITY TO SIGN PROCEEDINGS

Philadelphia Octr. 24th. 1774 —

we Depute Colo. George Washington to sign our Names to any of the Proceedings of the Congress

Benj Harrison

Peyton Randolph

Richard Bland

Agreed, That M^r [Thomas] Cushing, M^r [Isaac] Low, M^r [Thomas] Mifflin, M^r [Richard Henry] Lee, and M^r [Thomas] Johnson, be a committee to bring in a plan for carrying into effect, the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation resolved on.

SATURDAY, OCT^R 1, 1774

Simon Bœrum, Esqr, appeared in Congress as a deputy from King's county in the Colony of New-York, & produced the credentials of his election, which being read and approved, he took his seat as a delegate for that Colony.

The Congress, resuming the consideration of the means, &c. upon motion,

Resolved unanimously, That a loyal address to his majesty be prepared, dutifully requesting the royal attention to the grievances that alarm and distress his majesty's faithful subjects in North-America, and entreating his majesty's gracious interposition for the removal of such grievances; thereby to restore between Great Britain and the Colonies that harmony so necessary to the happiness of the British Empire, and so ardently desired by all America.

Agreed, That M^r [Richard Henry] Lee, M^r J[ohn] Adams, M^r [Thomas] Johnson, M^r [Patrick] Henry, and M^r [John] Rutledge, be a committee to prepare an address to his majesty.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1774.

The Congress met, according to adjournment, and after some debate,

Resolved unanimously, That it be an instruction to the committee, who are appointed to draw up an address to

the King: "Whereas parliamentary taxes on America have been laid, on pretence of defraying the expenses of government, and supporting the administration of justice, and defending, protecting, and securing the Colonies," that they do assure his Majesty, that the colonies have, or will make ample provision for defraying all the necessary expenses of supporting government, and the due administration of Justice in the respective colonies; that the militia, if put upon a proper footing, would be amply sufficient for their defence in time of peace; that they are desirous to put it on such a footing immediately; and that in case of war, the colonies are ready to grant supplies for raising any further forces that may be necessary.[1]

The remainder of this day and the day following, was taken up in deliberating and debating on matters proper to be contained in the address to his majesty.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1774, A. M.

The congress resumed the consideration of the subject in debate yesterday, and after some time spent thereon,

Resolved, That the committee appointed to prepare an

[1] Among the *Lee Papers* is this motion as first drafted and submitted by Richard Henry Lee. "*Resolved*, that as we find the reason declared in the preamble to the acts of Parliament, for raising a revenue in America, to be for supporting the civil government, the administration of justice, and for protecting, defending and securing the colonies, the Congress recommend it to those Colonies in which it has not been already done, to provide constitutional, competent, and honorable support for the purposes of government, and administration of justice; and that it is quite unreasonable, that the mother country should be at the expense of maintaining standing armies in North America, for its defence; and that the administration may be convinced, that this is unnecessary and improper, as North America is able, willing, and under Providence, determined to defend, protect, and secure itself, the Congress do most earnestly recommend to the several colonies, that a militia be forthwith appointed and well disciplined, and that it be well provided with ammunition and proper arms." This MS. bears the endorsement: "A motion made in congress by R. H. Lee to apprize the public of danger, and of the necessity of putting the colonies in a state of defence. A majority had not the spirit to adopt it." Paul Leicester Ford says in his *Writings of John Dickinson*, II, 111, "This was debated, and so amended as to lead him [Lee] to vote against it."

address to his majesty, be instructed to assure his majesty, that in case the colonies shall be restored to the state they were in, at the close of the late war, by abolishing the system of laws and regulations—for raising a revenue in America—for extending the powers of courts of Admiralty—for the trial of persons beyond the sea for crimes committed in America—for affecting the colony of the Massachusetts bay—and for altering the government, and extending the limits of Canada, the jealousies, which have been occasioned by such acts and regulations of parliament, will be removed and commerce again restored.

An address from William Goddard to the Congress was read and ordered to lie on the table.[1]

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1774.

The Congress met according to adjournment, and resumed the consideration of the means proper to be used for a restoration of American rights. During the debate, an express[2] from Boston arrived with a letter from the committee of correspondence, dated the 29th of Sept^r, which was laid before the Congress.

In this the committee inform the Congress, that they "expected some regard would have been paid to the petitions presented to their Govr, against fortifying their town in such a manner as can be accounted for only upon the supposition, that the town and country are to be treated by the soldiery as declared enemies—that the entrenchments upon the neck are nearly compleated—that cannon are mounted at the entrance of the town—that it is currently reported, that fortifications are to be erected on Corpse-Hill, Beacon-Hill, & Fort-Hill, &c. so that the fortifications, with the ships in the harbour, may

[1] Probably a scheme for a post office. Ward says the congress on this day also "considered of non-importation."

[2] This express was Paul Revere. He arrived in New York on the 3d.

absolutely command every avenue to the town both by sea & land[1]—that a number of cannon, the property of a private gentleman,[2] were a few days ago seized & taken from his wharf by order of the general—that from several circumstances mentioned in the letter, there is reason to apprehend that Boston is to be made & kept a garrisoned town;—that from all they can hear from Britain, Administration is resolved to do all in their power to force them to a submission—that when the town is enclosed, it is apprehended the inhabitants will be held as hostages for the submission of the country, they apply therefore to the Congress for advice how to act—that, "if the Congress advise to quit the town,—they obey—if it is judged that by maintaining their ground they can better serve the public cause, they will not shrink from hardship & danger—finally, that as the late acts of parliament have made it impossible that there should be a due administration of justice, & all law therefore must be suspended—that as the Gov.r has by proclamation[3] prevented the meeting of the General Court,—they therefore request the advice of the Congress."[4]

[1] See the handbill in Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, I, 820.

[2] Joseph Scott.

[3] Dated 28 September, 1774. It is printed in Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, I, 809.

[4] A further extract from this letter was printed in the *Packet*, 17 October, 1774:—"Yesterday it appeared that Joseph Scott, Esquire, had sold to the army a number of cannon, some cohorns, shells, chain, and other shot. Upon the matter being discovered, and Mr. Scott's being acquainted with the resentments of the people, he forbade the party who were sent for them to take them away; they nevertheless proceeded and carried them on board their ships. This created much disturbance, and a guard was offered to Mr. Scott by the General; but Mr. Scott was informed that no military guard could save him, and would but stimulate the people to acts of greater violence. Many gentlemen, who foresaw what must have ensued, endeavoured to dissuade the people from attacking the house; and, finally, some persons engaged, that if no guard was set to the house they would do all in their power to disperse the people. This was complied with, and the exertions of the gentlemen of the town proved effectual, some dirt and filth thrown upon his warehouse being all the injury he sustained. We have given an account of this affair because we expect some untrue representation will be made, perhaps much to the disadvantage of the town."

Ordered, That this letter be taken into consideration to-morrow morning.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the means, &c.

Resolved, That the committee appointed to prepare the form of an Association, be directed to adopt the following clause, viz.—That from and after the first day of December next, no molasses, coffee or piemento from the British Plantations or from Dominica, or wines from Madeira & the Western Islands, or foreign indigo, be imported into these colonies.[1]

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1774.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from the committee of correspondence in Boston, & after some debate,

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a letter to his excellency General Gage, representing "that the town of Boston, & province of Massachusetts-bay, are considered by all America, as suffering in the common cause, for their noble and spirited opposition to oppressive acts of parliament, calculated to deprive us of our most sacred rights and priviledges."

Expressing our concern, that while the Congress are deliberating on the most peaceable means for restoring American liberty, and that harmony and intercourse, which subsisted between us and the parent kingdom, so necessary to both, his excellency, as they are informed, is raising fortifications round the town of Boston, thereby exciting well grounded jealousies in the minds of his faithful subjects therein, that he means to cut off all communication between them and their brethren in the country,

[1] "Non-exportation of particular articles dropped." *Ward.* See *Works of John Adams*, II, 395.

and reduce them to a state of submission to his will, and that the soldiers under his excellency's command, are frequently violating private property, and offering various insults to the people, which must irritate their minds, and if not put a stop to, involve all America in the horrors of a civil war.

To entreat his excellency, from the assurance we have of the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston and the province of the Massachusetts-bay, to discontinue his fortifications, and that a free and safe communication be restored and continued between the town of Boston & the country, and prevent all injuries on the part of the troops, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, after the measures now adopting shall have been laid before him.

Mr. [Thomas] Lynch, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. [Edmund] Pendleton, are appointed the committee to prepare a letter agreeable to the foregoing resolution.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1774.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from Boston, and upon motion,

Resolved, That this Congress approve of the opposition by the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts-bay, to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carryed into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.[1]

[1] Galloway states that he and Duane opposed this resolution, but after a long debate they were overruled. They then wished to have their protests entered; "which being refused, when we returned from Congress we gave each other a certificate, declaring our opposition to that question, as we thought it a treasonable one." Gordon relates the story almost in Galloway's words. This incident may be that mentioned by Colden: "Mr. Galloway and Duane tell me that at the close of the Congress they dissented from the Proceedings: and insisted to have their Dissent entered on

MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1774.

The Congress resuming the consideration of the letter from Boston,

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this body, that the removal of the people of Boston into the country, would be not only extremely difficult in the execution, but so important in its consequences, as to require the utmost deliberation before it is adopted; but, in case the provincial meeting of that Colony should judge it absolutely necessary, it is the opinion of the Congress, that all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain; and it will be recommended accordingly.

Resolved, That the Congress recommend to the inhabitants of the colony of Massachusetts-bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of Justice, where it cannot be procured in a legal & peaceable manner, under the

the minutes, but could not by any means get it allowed." *To the Earl of Dartmouth*, 7 December, 1774. Galloway tried to persuade Duane to leave the Congress. "8th. The Committee reported a letter to the General [Gage], which was recommitted, and reported again at six o'clock. Not being a quorum from some colonies we adjourned." *Ward.*

Richard Henry Lee made the following motion on the 7th or 8th: "*Resolved*, That the Congress are of opinion, that it is inconsistent with the honour and safety of a free people to live within the control, and exposed to the injuries of a military force, not under the government of the civil power, and as General Gage has thought proper to take possession of the town of Boston with an armed force, and is converting that once free city, into a military garrison, that Congress advise from every motive of honour, safety and wisdom, that the free citizens of Boston, no longer expose themselves to the dangerous consequences of the military manœuvering carrying on against the town, but quit the place, and find an asylum among their hospitable countrymen, who will no doubt, on this trying occasion, display that virtuous humanity, which may be so deservedly exercised towards their brethren and oppressed fellow citizens; and it is earnestly recommended to all British America, from time to time to supply these, their distressed and deserving countrymen." This motion was rejected.

rules of their present charter, and the laws of the colony founded thereon.[1]

Resolved unanimously, That every person and persons whatsoever, who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in any wise derived from the act passed in the last session of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of the province of Massachusetts-bay, ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature, and compact, have given to America.

The committee brought in a draught of a letter to general Gage, and the same being read and amended, was ordered to be copied, & to be signed by the president in behalf of the Congress.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1774.

A copy of the letter to general Gage, was brought in to Congress, and agreeable to order signed by the President and is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA *October 10, 1774.*

"SIR,

"The Inhabitants of the town of Boston have informed us, the representatives of his Majesty's faithful subjects in all the colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invasions of private property, and the repeated

[1]This second resolution was carried by a majority only, as is noted in the text. Richard Henry Lee voted against it.

It was probably in this debate that the motion of Ross was submitted. "I have sometimes wished, since my return, that we had fallen in, *totis viribus*, with the motion made by Mr Ross, and seconded by Mr. Galloway, that this province should be left to her own discretion with respect to government and justice, as well as defence. Our provincial Congress had in contemplation some sublime conceptions, which would in that case have been rapidly carried into execution." *John Adams to Edward Biddle*, 12 December, 1774.

insults they receive from the soldiery, have given them great reason to suspect a plan is formed very destructive to them, and tending to overthrow the liberties of America.

"Your excellency cannot be a stranger to the sentiments of America, with respect to the acts of parliament, under the execution of which, those unhappy people are oppressed, the approbation universally expressed of their conduct, and the determined resolution of the colonies, for the preservation of their common rights, to unite in their opposition to those acts.—In consequence of these sentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepest concern, that whilst we are pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial & effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain & the colonies, your excellency should proceed in a manner that bears so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts do not warrant.

"We entreat your excellency to consider what a tendency this conduct must have to irritate & force a free people, however well disposed to peaceable measure, into hostilities, which may prevent the endeavours of this Congress to restore a good understanding with our parent state, & may involve us in the horrors of a civil war.

"In order therefore to quiet the minds and remove the reasonable jealousies of the people, that they may not be driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the King's troops, could they be assured of their own safety, we hope, Sir, you will discontinute the fortifications in and about Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communication between the town and country may be open, unmolested and free.

"Signed by order, and in behalf of the general Congress,

"PEYTON RANDOLPH, *President.*"[1]

As the Congress have given general Gage an assurance of the peaceable disposition of the people of Boston and the Massachusetts-bay,

Resolved unanimously, That they be advised still to conduct themselves peaceably towards his excellency General Gage, and his majesty's troops now stationed in the town of Boston, as far as can possibly be consistent with

[1] The reply of Gage is printed on p. 114, *post*.

their immediate safety, and the security of the town; avoiding & discountenancing every violation of his Majesty's property, or any insult to his troops, and that they peaceably and firmly persevere in the line they are now conducting themselves, on the defensive.

Ordered, That a copy of the foregoing resolve, & of that passed on Saturday and the three passed yesterday, be made out, and that the President enclose them in a letter to the committee of correspondence for the town of Boston, being the sentiments of the Congress on the matters referred to them by the Committee, in their letter of the 29th of Septr last.

Resolved unanimously, That a memorial be prepared to the people of British America, stating to them the necessity of a firm, united, and invariable observation of the measures recommended by the Congress, as they tender the invaluable rights and liberties derived to them from the laws and constitution of their country.

Also an address to the people of Great Britain.

Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, Mr. [William[1]] Livingston, and Mr. [John] Jay are appointed a committee to prepare a draught of the memorial & address.[2]

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1774.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare a plan for carrying into effect, the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, brought in a report, which was read:

[1] I insert this name as two members of the committee would not have been taken from New York.

[2] John Jay, writing in 1823, said, "It was agreed in the committee, that Mr. Lee should prepare a draught of the proposed *memorial*, which was the first, both in order and importance; and that I should prepare a draught of the proposed *address* to the people of Great Britain, both of which were done accordingly.

Ordered, That the same do lie on the table, for the perusal of the members:

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the rights and grievances of these colonies,[1] and after deliberating on the subject this & the following day, adjourned till Friday.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1774.

The Congress met according to adjournment, & resuming the consideration of the subject under debate—came into the following Resolutions:[2]

Sullivan's Draught.

Whereas since the accession of the present King, Parliament has

Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament,

[1] Ward objected to the part relative to Statutes, and that mentioning our fathers having not forfeited by emigration, &c.

"13th. Met. Considered of the right of Parliament to regulate trade. Mr. Hopkins for some of the modes proposed. I was for none." *Ward.*

"From ten o'clock until half after four, we were debating about the parliamentary power of regulating trade. Five Colonies were for allowing it, five against it, and two divided among themselves, that is, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Mr. Duane has had his heart set upon asserting in our bill of rights the authority of Parliament to regulate the trade of the Colonies. He is for grounding it on compact, acquiescence, necessity, protection, not merely on our consent." *John Adams' Diary*, 13 October, 1774.

Galloway states that the report met with a "very considerable opposition—the Committee sat near three weeks. The gentlemen who drew with me in opposition perplexed the proposals made by the violent party, as we acted entirely on the defensive;—so that they did not come to a single resolution for better than a fortnight, neither in stating their rights or their grievances, and as well as I can recollect, the Grand Committee did not determine on those resolutions. To the best of my knowledge, the Committee was dissolved before they were voted, and that owing to the opposition these resolves met with." *Examination*

[2] The first draft of the sub-committee's report on violations of rights was prepared by John Sullivan. Among the Adams' Papers is a paper in a script "somewhat resembling that of Major Sullivan," which is believed to be the report as first submitted. It is printed in Adams' *Works*, II, 535

The fourth article as adopted (p. 68) was prepared by John Adams, and caused much debate in committee and in Congress. Galloway, and his followers, thought it aimed at independence, and sought to have it amended. It was left unaltered in its essentials, and the final form of the report was the work of John Adams. See his letter to Edward Biddle, 12 December, 1774.

claimed a power of right to bind the people of the Colonies in North America by statutes in all cases whatsoever; and for carrying the said power into execution, has, by some statutes, expressly taxed the people of the said Colonies, and by divers other statutes under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, has imposed 'rates and duties,' payable in the said Colonies, established a Board of Commissioners, and extended the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty therein, for the collection of such 'rates and duties.'

And whereas some of the said statutes are also intended to render all Judges in the said Colonies dependent upon the Crown only.

And whereas since the said accession, statutes have been made for quartering and supplying troops to be kept in the said Colonies.

And whereas since the conclusion of the last war, orders have been issued by the King, that the authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him, of the Brigadier-General in the Northern and Southern departments, in all military affairs shall be supreme, and must be obeyed by the troops as such, in all the civil governments in America.

And whereas a statute was made in the seventh year of this reign 'for suspending the proceedings claiming a power of right to bind the people of America, by statute in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the Crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace:

of the assembly of New York, &c.,' and assemblies in these Colonies have of late years been very frequently dissolved.

And whereas, during the present reign, dutiful and reasonable petitions to the Crown, from the representatives of the people in these Colonies, have been repeatedly treated with contempt.

And whereas, it has been lately resolved in Parliament, that, by force of a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII, Colonists may be carried to England, and tried there, on accusations for offences committed in these Colonies. And by a statute made in the twelfth year of this reign such trials are directed in the cases therein mentioned.

And whereas in the last session of Parliament three statutes were made and declared to have force within the Province of Massachusetts Bay, one of them 'for discontinuing, &c. the landing, &c. goods, wares, and merchandises, at the town and within the harbor of Boston,' &c.; and another, 'for the better regulating the government, &c.;' and the third, 'for the impartial administration of justice,' &c.[1]

And it has lately been resolved in Parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry the eighth, colonists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treasons, and misprisions, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies; and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

And whereas, in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made; "one, intituled "An "act to discontinue, in such man-"ner and for such time as are "therein mentioned, the landing "and discharging, lading, or ship-"ping of goods, wares & merchan-"dise, at the town, and within the "harbour of Boston, in the prov-"ince of Massachusetts-bay, in "North-America;" another, inti-"tuled "An act for the better "regulating the government of "the province of the Massachu-"setts-bay in New-England;" and "another, intituled "An act for

[1] "Q. Which of these two last Statutes was first in time?"—*Marginal note.*

"the impartial administration of "justice, in the cases of persons "questioned for any act done by "them in the execution of the law, "or for the suppression of riots "and tumults, in the province of "the Massachusetts-bay, in New-"England." And another statute was then made, "for making more "effectual provision for the gov-"ernment of the province of Que-"bec, &c." All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.

And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, & reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his majesty's ministers of state:

And whereas, in the same session, another statute was made, 'for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec,' &c.

And whereas the good people of these Colonies, justly alarmed by the proceedings of Parliament and Administration, have duly appointed and directed delegates to meet and sit in General Congress at Philadelphia, in this month of September, 1774, in order to such establishment as that their reli-

The good people of the several Colonies of New-hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, justly alarmed

gion, laws, and liberties, may not be subverted; upon which appointment and direction, the said delegates being now assembled in a full and free representation[1] of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, (as their ancestors in like cases have usually done,) for vindicating and asserting their rights and liberties, declare—

1. That the power of making laws for ordering or regulating the internal polity of these Colonies, is, within the limits of each Colony, respectively and exclusively vested in the Provincial Legislature of such Colony; and that all statutes for ordering or regulating the internal polity of the said Colonies, or any of them, in any manner or in any case whatsoever, are illegal and void.

at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted:

Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare,

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following Rights:

Resolved, N. C. D. 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, & property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

[1] "Q. If the Colonies should not be named?"—*Marginal note.*

2. That all statutes, for taxing the people of the said colonies, are illegal and void.

Resolved, N. C. D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England.

3. That all the statutes before mentioned, for the purpose of raising a revenue, by imposing 'rates and duties' payable in these Colonies, establishing a Board of Commissioners, and extending the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, for the collection of such 'rates and duties' are illegal and void.

Resolved, N. C. D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

4. That Judges, within these Colonies, ought not to be dependent on the Crown only; and that their commissions ought to be during good behavior.

Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parlia-

ment, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

5. That the raising or keeping a standing army within these Colonies in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of the Provincial Legislatures, is illegal, pernicious, and dangerous; and that every statute for quartering or supplying troops within the said Colonies is illegal and void.

Resolved, N. C. D. 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

6. That the orders aforesaid for rendering the authority of the Commander-in-chief, and under him, of the Brigadiers-General, supreme, are illegal and void.

Resolved, 6. That they are entituled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

7. That for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, assemblies ought to be held in each of these Colonies frequently, and at least once in every year; that such Assemblies ought not to be prorogued or dissolved, before they have had sufficient time to deliberate, determine, and bring to conclusion their counsels on public affairs; that any statute for suspending the proceedings of

Resolved, N. C. D. 7. That these, his majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted & confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

any such assembly, is illegal and void; and that every dissolution of an assembly within these Colonies, during the present reign, on pretence of misbehavior in the representatives of the people, has been arbitrary and oppressive.

8. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King; and that a contemptuous treatment of such petitions has a most pernicious tendency.

Resolved, N. C. D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

9. That the resolution in Parliament on the statute made in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII, was arbitrary and erroneous; and that any statute directing the trials of Colonists to be had in England or elsewhere, on accusation for offences committed in the Colonies, is illegal and void.

Resolved, N. C. D. 9. That the keeping a Standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

10. That the three statutes made in the last session of Parliament, and declared to have force within the Province of Massachusetts Bay, are oppressive to the people of that Province, dangerous to the liberties of these colonies, illegal and void.

Resolved, N. C. D. 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

11. That the statute made in the same session, 'for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec,' &c. is not only unjust to the peo-

All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liber-

ple in that Province, but dangerous to the interests of the Protestant religion and of these Colonies, and ought to be repealed.

12. And they do claim, demand, and insist, on all and singular the rights and liberties before mentioned as indubitably belonging to them; and no declarations, judgments, doings, proceedings or statutes, to the prejudice of the people in any of the premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and these, their undoubted rights and liberties, with the blessing of Divine Providence, which they humbly and ardently implore in favor of their just exertions to preserve the freedom of rendering to their Creator the worship they judge most acceptable to him, and of promoting the happiness of his creatures, they are resolved, to the utmost of their power, to maintain and defend.

ties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire, that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies, viz:

The several acts of 4 Geo. 3. ch. 15, & ch. 34.—5 Geo. 3. ch. 25.—6 Geo. 3. ch. 52.—7 Geo. 3. ch. 41, & ch. 46.—8 Geo. 3. ch. 22, which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges' certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, be-

fore he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also the 12 Geo. 3. ch. 24, entituled "An act for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by a jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter & government of the Massachusetts-bay, and that which is entituled "An act for the better administration of Justice," &c.

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholick Religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of Religion, law, and government of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session for the better providing

suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit, but in hopes that their fellow subjects in Great-Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures:

Resolved, unanimously, That from and after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland of any goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place of any such goods, wares or merchandize.[1]

1st. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.

2. To prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, &

3. To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty; agreeable to Resolutions already entered into.

[1] This paragraph was struck out.

A Letter being received from several Gentlemen in Georgia, was read.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1774.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the plan of Association for carrying into effect the non-importation, &c.

After some time spent on that subject, adjourned till Monday.[1]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1774.

Mr. J[ohn] Dickinson appeared in congress as a deputy for the province of Pennsylvania, and produced his credentials as follows:

"In Assembly, October 15, 1774. A. M.

"Upon motion by Mr. [George] Ross,

"*Ordered* That Mr. J. Dickinson be, and he is hereby added to the Committee of Deputies, appointed by the late Assembly of this province, to attend the general congress now sitting in the city of Philadelphia on American grievances.

"By order of the House,

"CHA. MOORE, *clerk of the assembly*"

The same being approved, Mr. J. Dickinson took his seat as one of the deputies for the province of Pennsylvania.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the plan of Association, &c. and after spending the remainder of the day on that subject, adjourned till to-morrow.[2]

[1] "15th. Met. Considered grievances." *Ward.*

[2] 17th. "Met. Enumerated grievances." *Ward.*

THE ASSOCIATION OF 1774

FIRST PRINTED EDITION

THE

ASSOCIATION, &c.

WE, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusett's Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs, is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Mi-

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1774.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the plan of association, &c. and after sundry amendments, the same was agreed to, and ordered to be transcribed, that it may be signed by the several members.

The Committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, brought in a draught, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table, for the perusal of the members, & to be taken into consideration to-Morrow.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1774.

The Congress met and resumed the consideration of the address to the people of Great-Britain, and the same being read and debated by paragraphs, and sundry amendments being made, the same was re-committed, in order that the amendments may be taken in.

The committee appointed to prepare a memorial to the Inhabitants of these colonies, reported a draught, which was read, & ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered, That this memorial be taken into consideration to-morrow.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1774.

The Congress met.

The association being copied, was read and signed at the table, and is as follows:—

Here insert the Association.

WE, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower

counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for inslaving these colonies, and, with them, the British empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed, for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America: and in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall chuse so to direct them.

To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects, in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: and, therefore, we do, for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honour and love of our country, as follows:

1. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import, into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandise, as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import

any East-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles,[1] coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

2. We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next;[2] after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

3. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that, from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East-India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandise, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

4. The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said acts and parts of acts of the British parliament herein after mentioned are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandise or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, except rice to Europe.[3]

5. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents and correspondents, in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandise, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so

[1] Brown unpurified sugar.

[2] In the pamphlet edition this sentence reads: "That we will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next."

[3] See *Journals of Congress*, 1 August, 1775, *post*.

done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

6. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismission from their service.

7. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end, we will kill them as seldom[1] as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West-Indies or elsewhere; and those of us, who are or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

8. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals.

9. Such as are venders of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past.—And if any vender of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

10. In case any merchant, trader, or other person,[2] shall import any goods or merchandise, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be

[1] The pamphlet says *sparingly*.

[2] Persons is used in the pamphlet.

stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last-mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandises shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

11. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazette; to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British-America may be publicly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

12. That the committee of correspondence, in the respective colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

13. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

14. And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North-America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty

courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed.—And until that part of the act of the 12 G. 3. ch. 24, entitled "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," by which any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed—and until the four acts, passed the last session of parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston—that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay—and that which is entitled "An act for the better administration of justice, &c."—and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

The foregoing association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

In Congress, Philadelphia, *October 20, 1774.*

Signed, Peyton Randolph, *President.*

New Hampshire	Jn.° Sullivan Nath.el Folsom
Massachusetts Bay	Thomas Cushing Sam.l Adams John Adams Rob.t Treat Paine
Rhode Island	Step. Hopkins Sam: Ward
Connecticut	Elipht Dyer Roger Sherman Silas Deane
New York	Isaac Low John Alsop John Jay Ja.s Duane Phil. Livingston W.m Floyd Henry Wisner S: Boerum
New Jersey	J. Kinsey Wil: Livingston Step.n Crane Rich.d Smith John De Hart
Pennsylvania	Jos. Galloway John Dickinson Cha Humphreys Thomas Mifflin E. Biddle John Morton Geo: Ross
The Lower Counties New Castle	Cæsar Rodney Tho. M: Kean Geo: Read
Maryland	Mat Tilghman Th.s Johnson Jun.r W.m Paca Samuel Chase

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN

FIRST ISSUE

TO THE

PEOPLE OF *GREAT-BRITAIN*,

FROM THE

DELEGATES,

Appointed by the ſeveral ENGLISH COLONIES of NEW-HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETT'S-BAY, RHODE-ISLAND and PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, CONNECTICUT, NEW-YORK, NEW-JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, The LOWER COUNTIES on DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, NORTH-CAROLINA, and SOUTH-CAROLINA, to conſider of their Grievances in GENERAL CONGRESS, at PHILADELPHIA, September 5th, 1774.

Friends, and Fellow Subjects,

WHEN a Nation, led to greatneſs by the hand of Liberty, and poſſeſſed of all the glory that heroiſm, munificence, and humanity can beſtow, deſcends to the ungrateful taſk of forging chains for her Friends and Children, and inſtead of giving ſupport to Freedom, turns advocate for Slavery and Oppreſſion, there is reaſon to ſuſpect ſhe has either ceaſed to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

Virginia	Richard Henry Lee G.° Washington P. Henry J.r Richard Bland Benj.a Harrison Edm.d Pendleton	South Carolina.	Henry Middleton Tho Lynch Christ Gadsden J Rutledge Edward Rutledge[1]
North Carolina	Will Hooper Joseph Hewes R.d Caswell		

Ordered, that this association be committed to the press, and that one hundred & twenty copies be struck off.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the Address to the Inhabitants of these colonies, & after debate thereon, adjourned till to-morrow.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1774.

The address to the people of Great-Britain being brought in, and the amendments directed being made, the same was approved, and is as follows:

Here insert the address to the people of Great-Britain.[2]

[1] In Force's Archives, First Series, vol. I. is reproduced in facsimile the last page of the original association, with the signatures. Only the last and formal paragraph "The foregoing association &c." and the names of the Colonies are in the writing of Charles Thomson. In the printed editions of the *Journals* the date of the association differs. In the first issue of the Association, printed probably on October 21, the date is correctly given; but in the first edition of the *Journals* October 24th is assigned, and this error has been followed in the subsequent editions.

Copies of the original were printed, and a few were signed by the members of the Congress. One such copy is in the Lenox Library, New York, and bears the name of the owner, Richard Smith, and the probable date on which the signatures were obtained "October 22d 1774." A note in Smith's writing at the end reads:—"mem° Patrick Henry Junr & Edmund Pendleton Esqrs signed the Original Association but were absent at the signing of this—Messrs Philip Livingston, John Haring, John D'Hart, Samuel Rhoads, Geo. Ross and Rob: Goldsborough did not sign the original, being then absent—Cæsar Rodney Esqr. was absent at the Time of signing the Original, but his name was written by his Order." A second copy of the Association, signed, is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

[2] Drafted by John Jay.

To the people of Great-Britain, from the delegates appointed by the several English colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, to consider of their grievances in general Congress, at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS,

WHEN a Nation, led to greatness by the hand of Liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her Friends and Children, and instead of giving support to Freedom, turns advocate for Slavery and Oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty to you their posterity.

Be not surprized therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution, you so justly boast [of], and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guarantied by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compacts with British Sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having our lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave you.

The cause of America is now the object of universal attention: it has at length become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

Know then, That we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be, as free as our fellow-subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent.

That we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, and particularly that inestimable one of trial by jury.

That we hold it essential to English Liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence.

That we think the Legislature of Great-Britain is not authorized by the constitution[1] to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe. These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

Are not the Proprietors of the soil of Great-Britain Lords of their own property? can it be taken from them without their consent? will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever?—You know they will not.

Why then are the Proprietors of the soil of America less Lords of their property than you are of yours, or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or any other Parliament, or Council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given, why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the Pope can divest Kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame: At the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices

[1] In the 1774 edition of the Journal, this word is printed *condition*.

of a Minister of principles, and of a family unfriendly to the protestant cause, and inimical to liberty.—We say at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

Prior to this æra you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You restrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandise should be carried, and with whom alone we should trade; and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we nevertheless did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state, to which we were bound by the strongest ties: And were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur.

We call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire: Did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which, you confessed, we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace?

Before we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive Stamp-Act. Paint, Glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no wine is made in any country, subject to the British state, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, imposed by your parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally, for the express purpose of raising a Revenue.—In order to silence complaint, it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue should be expended in America for its protection and defence.—These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us. They are lavishly squandered on court favourites and ministerial dependents, generally avowed enemies to America and employing themselves, by partial representations, to

traduce and embroil the Colonies. For the necessary support of government here, we ever were and ever shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, chearfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property.—It was ordained, that whenever offences should be committed in the colonies against particular Acts imposing various duties and restrictions upon trade, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalties in the Courts of Admiralty; by which means the subject lost the advantage of being tried by an honest uninfluenced jury of the vicinage, and was subjected to the sad necessity of being judged by a single man, a creature of the Crown, and according to the course of a law which exempts the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliges the defendant either to evince his innocence or to suffer. To give this new judicatory[1] the greater importance, and as, if with design to protect false accusers, it is further provided, that the Judge's certificate of there having been probable causes of seizure and prosecution, shall protect the prosecutor from actions at common law for recovery of damages.

By the course of our law, offences committed in such of the British dominions in which courts are established and justice duely and regularly administred, shall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. There the offenders and the witnesses are known, and the degree of credibility to be given to their testimony, can be ascertained.

In all these Colonies, justice is regularly and impartially administered, and yet by the construction of some, and the direction of other Acts of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a *jury* of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages that result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.

When the design of raising a revenue from the duties imposed on the importation of tea into America had in great measure been rendered abortive by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the Ministry with the East-India Company, and an Act passed

[1] In the original pamphlet this word is printed *indicatory*.

enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the colonies. Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were adopted to elude the stroke. The people of Boston, then ruled by a Governor, whom, as well as his predecessor Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. The ships which had arrived with the tea were by his management prevented from returning.—The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed and exposed to sale; a Governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchasers. While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. Even supposing a trespass was thereby committed, and the Proprietors of the tea entitled to damages.—The Courts of Law were open, and Judges appointed by the Crown presided in them.—The East India Company however did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand satisfaction, either from individuals or from the community in general. The Ministry, it seems, officiously made the case their own, and the great Council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property.—Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated ex parte evidence were laid before them; neither the persons who destroyed the Tea, or the people of Boston, were called upon to answer the complaint. The Ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favourite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistance from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions, nay turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surround you, and shew us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes, unheard, unquestioned, and without even the specious formality of a trial; and that too by laws made expres[s]ly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and constitution, the task will become

more arduous when we call upon our ministerial enemies to justify, not only condemning men untried and by hearsay, but involving the innocent in one common punishment with the guilty, and for the act of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, distress and calamity on thirty thousand souls, and those not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow subjects.

It would be some consolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppressions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from a British Sovereign, the fore-fathers of the present inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal Colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their rights, without being heard, without being tried, without law, and without justice, by an Act of Parliament, their charter is destroyed, their liberties violated, their constitution and form of government changed: And all this upon no better pretence, than because in one of their towns a trespass was committed on some merchandize, said to belong to one of the Companies, and because the Ministry were of opinion, that such high political regulations were necessary to compel due subordination and obedience to their mandates.

Nor are these the only capital grievances under which we labor. We might tell of dissolute, weak and wicked Governors having been set over us; of Legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects—of needy and ignorant dependents on great men, advanced to the seats of justice and to other places of trust and importance;—of hard restrictions on commerce, and a great variety of lesser evils, the recollection of which is almost lost under the weight and pressure of greater and more poignant calamities.

Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for inslaving us.

Well aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us; to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury; to seize our persons, and carry us for trial to Great-Britain; to blockade our ports; to destroy our Charters, and change our forms of government, would occasion, and had already occasioned, great discontent in all the Colonies, which might produce opposition to these measures: An Act was passed to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavouring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution; And by another Act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being

disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the Act:—And in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forebear complaining of it, as hostile to British America.—Superadded to these considerations, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the Royal Proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country.—They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned cannot claim the benefit of the habeas corpus Act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty:—Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.

This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

Admit that the Ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery. Such an enterprize would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with Pensioners and Placemen.—We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious—in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

May not a Ministry with the same armies inslave you—It may be said, you will cease to pay them—but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent will then be in the power of your enemies—nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

Do not treat this as chimerical—Know that in less than half a century, the quit-rents reserved to the Crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the royal coffers, and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleasure, the Crown will be rendered independent on [of] you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the *remains of* Liberty in your Island.—In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation—To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies.—Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness, we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire—we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of Mankind—If neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world.

Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.

But lest the same supineness and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shewn, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the Ministry have endeavoured to induce submission to their measures.—The like fate may befal us all, we will endeavour therefore to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries and some of the conveniences of life.—We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and in less than a year's time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and the West-Indies.

It is with the utmost regret however, that we find ourselves compelled by the overruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt

measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. But we hope, that the magnanimity and justice of the British Nation will furnish a Parliament of such wisdom, independance and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked Ministers and evil Counsellors whether in or out of office, and thereby restore that harmony, friendship and fraternal affection between all the Inhabitants of his Majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the memorial to the inhabitants of the British Colonies,[1] and the same being gone through and debated by paragraphs [and amended] was approved, and is as follows:

Here insert the Memorial &c.

To the inhabitants of the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

We, the Delegates appointed by the good people of the above Colonies to meet at Philadelphia in September last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective Constituents, have in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the important matters recommended to the Congress. Our resolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it may be more satisfactory to you to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other manner, of those sentiments that have been approved, upon a full and free discussion by the Representatives of so great a part of America, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this Address to these Resolutions.

In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked,

[1] Drafted by Richard Henry Lee.

or can in any degree be justified: That neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

From Councils thus tempered arise the surest hopes of the divine favour, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately and calmly enquired into and considered those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great-Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention considered the conduct of the Colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those we wish to revere.—In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

Soon after the conclusion of the late war, there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of these Colonies. By a statute made in the fourth year of the present reign, a time of *profound peace*, alledging, "the expediency of new provisions and regulations for "extending the commerce between Great-Britain and his majesty's "dominions in America, and the *necessity* of *raising a Revenue* in the "said dominions for defraying the expenses of *defending*, protecting "and securing the same," the *Commons of Great-Britain* undertook to *give* and *grant* to his Majesty many rates and duties, to be paid in these Colonies. To enforce the observance of this Act, it prescribes a great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and in two sections makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great-Britain and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *there* are to be recovered in any of the King's Courts of *Record*, at Westminster, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *here* are to be recovered in any Court of Record, or in any Court of *Admiralty*, or *Vice-Admiralty*, *at the election of the informer or prosecutor*.

The Inhabitants of these Colonies confiding in the justice of Great-Britain, were scarcely allowed *sufficient* time to receive and consider this Act, before another, well known by the name of the *Stamp Act*, and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this statute the British Parliament exercised, in the most

explicit manner a power of *taxing* us, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice-Admiralty* in the Colonies, to matters arising within the body of a county, directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures, thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the said courts.

In the same year a tax was imposed upon us, by an Act, establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year, the Stamp-Act was repealed; not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but as the repealing Act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be "attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of con-"sequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great-"Britain."

In the same year, and by a subsequent Act, it was declared, "that "his Majesty in Parliament, of right, had power to bind the people "of these Colonies, BY STATUTES, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER."

In the same year, another Act was passed, for imposing rates and duties payable in these Colonies. In this Statute the Commons avoiding the terms of *giving* and *granting*, "humbly besought his Majesty, that it might be enacted, &c." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of" several others granted by the Statute first before mentioned *for raising a revenue* and from some other expressions it appears, that these duties were intended *for that purpose.*

In the next year, (1767) an Act was made "to enable his Majesty "to put the customs, and *other duties* in America, under the manage-"ment of Commissioners, &c." and the King thereupon erected the present expensive Board of Commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several Acts relating to the *revenue* and trade in *America.*

After the repeal of the Stamp-Act, having again resigned ourselves to our antient unsuspicious affections for the parent state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favourable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above mentioned Statutes made subsequent to that repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a Statute commonly called the *Glass*, *Paper* and *Tea Act*, made fifteen months after the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, the Commons of Great-Britain resumed their former language, and again undertook to

"*give* and *grant* rates and duties to be paid in these Colonies," for the express purpose of "*raising a revenue*, to defray the charges of the "*administration of justice*, the support of *civil government*, and "*defending* the King's dominions," on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures, incurred under this Statute, are to be recovered *in the same manner*, with those mentioned in the foregoing Acts.

To this Statute, so naturally tending to disturb the tranquillity then universal throughout the Colonies, Parliament, in the same session, added another no less extraordinary.

Ever since the making the present peace, a standing army has been kept in these Colonies. From respect for the mother country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the provincial Legislatures generally made provision for supplying the troops.

The Assembly of the province of New York, having passed an Act of this kind, but differing in some articles, from the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the *fifth* year of this reign, the House of Representatives in that Colony was prohibited by a Statute made in the session last mentioned, from making any bill, order, resolution or vote, except for adjourning or chusing a Speaker, until provision should be made by the said Assembly for furnishing the troops, within that province, not only with all such necessaries as were required by the Statute *which they were charged with disobeying*, but also with those required by two other *subsequent* Statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty-fourth day of March 1769.

These Statutes of the year 1767 revived the apprehensions and discontents, that had entirely subsided on the repeal of the *Stamp-Act;* and amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a Statute was made in the next year (1768) to establish Courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice-Admiralty* on a new model, expressly for the end of more *effectually* recovering of the *penalties* and *forfeitures* inflicted by Acts of Parliament, framed for the purpose of *raising a revenue* in America, &c.

The immediate tendency of these statutes is, to subvert the right of having a share in legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money of the Colonists without their consent; the right of trial by jury, by substituting in their place trials in Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty courts, where single Judges preside, holding their Commissions during pleasure; and unduely to influence the Courts of common law, by rendering the Judges thereof totally dependant on the Crown for their salaries.

These statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular system, in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system, for subjugating these Colonies, that are not, and, from local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontroulable and unlimited power of Parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications.

This conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable, when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behaviour of these Colonies. From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them a charge of disloyalty to their Sovereign, or disaffection to their Mother-Country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services, which she has publickly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty and usefulness during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late Majesty and the present King.

The reproaches of those, who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts-Bay; but with what little reason, will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence, in their favour, will not be questioned.—Governor Bernard thus addresses the two Houses of Assembly—in his speech on the 24th of April, 1762,—"The unanimity and despatch, with which you have complied with the *requisitions of his Majesty*, require my particular acknowledgment. And it gives me additional pleasure to observe, that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire, and as the body of a particular province."

In another speech on the 27th of May, in the same year, he says,—"Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. *Every thing that hath been required of it hath been complied with;* and the execution of the powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field as they have been this year: the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the general Court, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the King."

Such was the conduct of the People of the Massachusetts-Bay, during the last war. As to their behaviour before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great-Britain, that not only on every occasion they had constantly and chearfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions—but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts, Nova-Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745.

Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances, that quickly succeeded on account of the stamp-act, being quieted by its repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the King and divers noblemen, and soon after passed a bill for granting compensation to the sufferers in the disorder occasioned by that act.

These circumstances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's letters in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly shew, with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late discords, and with what respectful reluctance[1] they endeavoured to escape other subjects of future controversy. "The House, (says the Governor) from the time of opening the session to this day, has shewn a disposition to *avoid* all dispute with me; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in *addressing* the King, *remonstrating* to the Secretary of State, and *employing* a separate agent. It is the *importance of this innovation*, without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance at a time when I have a fair prospect of having, *in all other business*, nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the House."[2]

"They have acted *in all things*, even in their remonstrance *with temper and moderation;* they have *avoided* some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for *removing* some causes of former altercation."[3]

"I shall make such a prudent and proper use of this Letter as, I hope, will perfectly restore the peace and tranquillity of this province, for which purpose *considerable steps have been made by the House of Representatives.*"[4]

The vindication of the province of Massachusetts-Bay contained in these Letters will have greater force, if it be considered, that they were

[1] The word *deference* was substituted in the Journal printed in 1774.
[2] January 21, 1768.
[3] January 30, 1768.
[4] February 2, 1768.

written several months after the fresh alarm given to the colonies by the statutes passed in the preceding year.

In this place it seems proper to take notice of the insinuation in one of these statutes, that the interference of Parliament was *necessary* to provide for "defraying the charge of the *administration of justice*, the support of *civil government*, and defending the King's dominions "in America."

As to the two first articles of expense, every colony had made such provision, as by their respective Assemblies, the best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient, and suitable to their several circumstances. Respecting the last, it is well known to all men, the least acquainted with American affairs, that the colonies were established, and have generally defended themselves, without the least assistance from Great-Britain; and, that at the time of her *taxing* them by the statutes before mentioned, most of them were labouring under very heavy debts contracted in the last war. So far were they from sparing their money, when their Sovereign, constitutionally, asked their aids, that during the course of that war, Parliament repeatedly made them compensations for the expences of those strenuous efforts, which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had chearfully incurred.

Severe as the Acts of *Parliament* before mentioned are, yet the conduct of *Administration* hath been equally injurious, and irritating to this devoted country.

Under pretence of governing them, so many new institutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters, for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.

By an order of the King, the authority of the Commander in chief, and under him, of the Brigadiers general, *in time of peace*, is rendered *supreme* in all the civil governments, in *America;* and thus an uncontroulable military power is vested in officers not known to the constitution of these colonies.

A large body of troops and a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

Expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

The Judges of the Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves; the Commissioners of the customs are impowered to

break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

Judges of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependent on the Crown for their commissions and salaries.

A court has been established at Rhode-Island, for the purposes of taking Colonists to England to be tried.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the Representatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt; and Assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

From some few instances it will sufficiently appear, on what pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

The tranquillity of the colonies having been again disturbed, as has been mentioned, by the statutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Governor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the "*presumption*" of the House of Representatives for "resolving upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature *as that of writing to the other colonies, on the subject of their intended representations against some late Acts of Parliament*," then declares that "his Majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parliament:"—and afterwards adds,—"It "is the *King's pleasure*, that as soon as the General Court is again "assembled, at the time prescribed by the Charter, you should require "of the House of Representatives, in his Majesty's name, to *rescind* "the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the Speaker, "and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to that rash and "hasty proceeding."

"If the new Assembly should refuse to comply with his Majesty's "reasonable expectation, it is the King's pleasure, that you should "immediately dissolve them."

This letter being laid before the House, and the resolution not being rescinded according to the order, the Assembly was dissolved. A letter of a similar nature was sent to other Governors to procure resolutions approving the conduct of the Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay, to be *rescinded* also; and the Houses of Representatives in other colonies refusing to comply Assemblies were dissolved.

These mandates spoke a language, to which the ears of English subjects had for several generations been strangers. The nature of assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation; but these commands, proscribing the exercise of judgment on the propriety of the

requisitions made, left to the Assemblies only the election between dictated submission and the threatened punishment: A punishment too, founded on no other act, than such as is deemed innocent even in slaves—of agreeing in *petitions* for redress of grievances, that equally affect all.

The hostile and unjustifiable invasion of the town of Boston soon followed these events in the same year; though that town, the province in which it is situated, and all the colonies, from abhorrence of a contest with their parent state, permitted the execution even of those statutes, against which they so unanimously were complaining, remonstrating and supplicating.

Administration, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom, which English Ministers should have *rejoiced* to cherish, entered into a monopolizing combination with the East-India company, to send to this continent vast quantities of Tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a statute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which therefore the inhabitants of these colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South-Carolina was stored, and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined, the province it belongs to should partake of its fate. In the last session of parliament therefore were passed the acts for shutting up the port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For tho' it is pretended, that the province of Massachusetts-Bay, has been particularly disrespectful to Great-Britain, yet in truth the behaviour of the people, in other colonies, has been an equal "opposition to the power assumed by parliament." No step however has been taken against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected that the province of Massachusetts-Bay will be irritated into some violent action, that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great-Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry.

If the unexampled pacifick temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other colonies will be so far intimidated as to desert their brethern, suffering in a common cause, and that thus disunited all may be subdued.

To promote these designs, another measure has been pursued. In the session of parliament last mentioned, an act was passed, for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established; and the people there deprived of a right to an assembly, trials by jury and the English laws in civil cases abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws established, in direct violation of his Majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province: and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions, that lie adjoining to the northernly and westernly boundaries of these colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such, as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and is now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

At this unhappy period, we have been authorized and directed to meet and consult together for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavoured to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character, these colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore, we were induced to offer once more to his Majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection, which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom, from which we derive our original,[1] we could not

[1]The word *origin* is used in the printed journals of 1774.

forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction, that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body, subsists the social band, which we ardently wish *may never* be dissolved, and which *cannot* be dissolved, until their minds shall become *indisputably hostile*, or their *inattention* shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting with the powers of the realm the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard, but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the vehemence[1] with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition, that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow-citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting, that we subject ourselves to similar inconveniences;[2] that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that *they*, the defenders of true religion, and the assertors of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of *our open* and *their own secret* enemies; whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

Another reason, that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance, that the mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by these laudable principles, cannot be questioned. Your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shewn that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will

[1] In late editions the word *violence* has been substituted.
[2] In late editions this clause was dropped.

LETTER TO THE INHABITANTS OF QUEBEC

FIRST ISSUE

A

LETTER

TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF THE

PROVINCE

OF

QUEBEC.

EXTRACT *from the Minutes of the* CONGRESS.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD.

October, 1774.

weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honour of your country, that must from your behaviour take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory, or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition recommended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to chuse, either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal, to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief: But we think ourselves bound in duty to observe to you that the schemes agitated against these colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent, that you should extend your views to the most mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency. Above all things we earnestly intreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves, and implore the favour of almighty God: and we fervently beseech his divine goodness, to take you into his gracious protection.

Ordered, That the Address to the people of Great Britain and the memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies be immediately committed to the press & that no more than one hundred and twenty copies of each be struck off without further orders from the Congress.

Resolved, That an Address be prepared to the people of Quebec,[1] and letters to the colonies of St. John's, Nova-Scotia, Georgia, East and West Florida, who have not deputies to represent them in this Congress.

Ordered, That Mr. [Thomas] Cushing, Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, and Mr. [John] Dickinson, be a committee to prepare the above address and letters.

Ordered, That Mr. [Joseph] Galloway, Mr. [Thomas] McKean, Mr. J[ohn] Adams & Mr. [William] Hooper be a committee to revise the minutes of the Congress.

[1]On the evening of October 4, General Lee went to John Adams with an address from the Congress to the people of Canada. Adams' *Writings*, II, 392.

The Address to the King being read, after debate,

Ordered, That the same be re-committed, and that Mr. J[ohn] Dickinson, be added to the committee.

Upon motion,

Resolved, That the seizing, or attempting to seize, any person in America, in order to transport such person beyond the sea, for trial of offences, committed within the body of a county in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.[1]

Adjourned till to-morrow.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1774.

The hon^ble^ Peyton Randolph, Esqr being unable to attend, on account of indisposition, the hon^ble^ Henry Middleton, Esqr was chosen to supply his place, as president.

An address from Christopher Tully was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered, That the Journal of the proceedings of the Congress, as now corrected, be sent to the press, and printed under the direction of Mr. [Edward] Biddle, Mr. [John] Dickinson, and the secretary.[2]

Resolved, as the Opinion of this Congress, that it will be necessary, that another Congress should be held on the tenth day of May next, unless the redress of grievances, which we have desired, be obtained before that time. And we recommend, that the same be held at the city of Philadelphia, and that all the Colonies, in North-America, chuse deputies, as soon as possible, to attend such Congress.

The committee appointed to prepare a letter to the colonies of St. John's, &c. reported a draught, which was

[1] "21st. Met, dismissed the plan for a union, &c., (Mr. Hopkins for the plan, I against it)." *Ward.* This probably refers to Galloway's *Plan.*

[2] Adolphus says this resolution was introduced by Silas Deane. *History of England*, II, 129.

FIRST ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL

TITLE PAGE

JOURNAL

OF THE

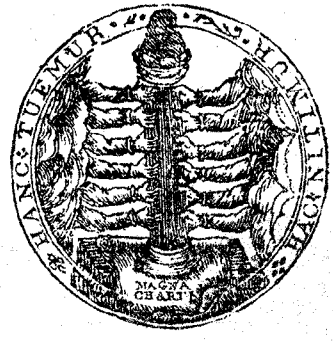
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONGRESS,

Held at PHILADELPHIA,

September 5, 1774.



PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD,
at the *London Coffee House.*

M,D CC,LXXIV.

read, and being amended, the same was approved, and is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *October 22, 1774.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"The present critical and truly alarming state of American affairs, having been considered in a general Congress of deputies, from the colonies of New-hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, with that attention and mature deliberation, which the important nature of the case demands, they have determined, for themselves and the the colonies they represent, on the measures contained in the enclosed papers; which measures they recommend to your colony to be adopted with all the earnestness, that a well directed zeal for American liberty can prompt. So rapidly violent and unjust has been the late conduct of the British Administration against the colonies, that either a base and slavish submission, under the loss of their ancient, just, and constitutional liberty, must quickly take place, or an adequate Opposition be formed.

"We pray God to take you under his protection, and to preserve the freedom and happiness of the whole British empire. We are as

["By order of the Congress,

"HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*"]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1774.

The committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of Quebec, [brought in a report,] which was read, & after debate re-committed.

The committee, to whom the address to the King was re-committed, reported a draught, which was read, &

Ordered, To be taken into consideration to-Morrow.[1]

[1] "Gave directions for printing the proceedings." *Ward.*

"24th. In Congress, nibbling and quibbling as usual. There is no greater mortification than to sit with half a dozen wits deliberating upon a petition, address or memorial. These great wits, these subtle critics, these refined geninses, these learned lawyers, these wise statesmen, are so fond of showing their parts and powers, as to make their consultations very tedious. Young Ned Rutledge is a perfect Bob-o-Lincoln,—a swallow, a sparrow, a peacock; excessively vain, excessively weak, and excessively variable and unsteady, jejune, inane, and puerile. Mr. Dickinson is very modest, delicate, and timid." *John Adams' Diary.*

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1774.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the address to his Majesty, which being debated by paragraphs, was approved and ordered to be engrossed.

Resolved, That the address to the King, be enclosed to the several colony agents, in order that the same may be by them presented to his Majesty; and that the agents be requested to call in the aid of such Noblemen and Gentlemen as are esteemed firm friends to American liberty.

Ordered, That Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, and Mr. [John] Jay, be a committee to prepare a letter to the agents of the several colonies.

Resolved, That this Congress, in their own names, and in behalf of all those whom they represent, do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who have so generously and powerfully, tho' unsuccessfully, espoused & defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.[1]

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1774.

The committee appointed to prepare a letter[2] to the agents, reported a draught which was read & being debated by paragraphs was approved, [& ordered to be engrossed] & is as follows:—

PHILADELPHIA, *October 26, 1774.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"We give you the strongest proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America, & the cause of liberty, when we commit the enclosed papers to your care.

[1] "25th. Met, appointed letters to be written to Georgia, etc., made some resolves, ordered a piece of plate for the Secretary, £50 sterling." *Ward.*

[2] This letter was written by Richard Henry Lee.

LETTER TO THE INHABITANTS OF QUEBEC

(FRENCH TRANSLATION)

LETTRE

ADRESSÉE

AUX HABITANS

DE LA PROVINCE

DE

QUEBEC,

Ci-devant le CANADA.

De la part du CONGRÈS GÉNÉRAL de l'Amérique Septentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie.

Imprimé & publié par Ordre du Congrès,

A PHILADELPHIE,

De l'Imprimerie de FLEURY MESPLET.

M. DCC. LXXIV.

"We desire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his Majesty, & after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public thro' the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue, and justice of the nation, it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities, & manufacturing towns, throughout the united Kingdom, with our memorial to the people of great Britain.

"We doubt not, but your good sense & discernment, will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance, that may be derived from the advice & friendship of all great & good men who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

"The gratitude of America, expressed in the enclosed vote of thanks, we desire may be conveyed to the deserving objects of it, in the manner you think will be most acceptable to them.

"It is proposed, that another Congress be held on the tenth of May next, at this place, but in the mean time, we beg the favour of you, Gentlemen, to transmit to the speakers of the several Assemblies, the earliest information of the most authentic accounts you can collect, of all such conduct & designs of ministry, or parliament, as it may concern America to know.

"We are, with unfeigned esteem and regard, Gentlemen, &c.

"By order and in behalf of the Congress,

"HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*"

To Paul Wentworth, Doct^r Franklin, Wm Bollan, Arthur Lee, Thos Life, Edm^d Burke, Charles Garth.

The committee, to whom the address to the inhabitants of Quebec was recommitted, reported a draught, which was read, & being debated by paragraphs and amended, & approved.

To the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec.

Friends and fellow-subjects,

WE, the Delegates of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the said Colonies, to

represent them in a General Congress at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances, having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested.

When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy.

These hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages.

Little did we imagine that any succeeding Ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to with-hold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus justly entitled.

But since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when Ministers of this flagitious temper, have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of *that* form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reasons herein after mentioned, to explain to you some of its most important branches.

"In every human society," says the celebrated Marquis *Beccaria*, "there is an *effort*, *continually tending* to confer on one part the heighth of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to *oppose this effort*, and to diffuse their influence *universally* and *equally*."

Rulers stimulated by this pernicious "effort," and subjects animated by the just "intent of opposing good laws against it," have occasioned that vast variety of events, that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or sett of men, is the production of misery to all men.

On the solid foundation of this principle, Englishmen reared up the fabrick of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: And, as an illustrious author[1] of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes,—"They gave the people of their Colonies, the form of their own government, and this government carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

In this form, the first grand right, is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chosen by themselves, and, in consequence, of being ruled by *laws*, which they themselves approve, not by *edicts* of *men* over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, which by their honest cares and labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment deem it just and necessary to give them for public service, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods, in which they shall be collected.

The influence of this right extends still farther. If money is wanted by Rulers, who have in any manner oppressed the people, they may retain it, until their grievances are redressed; and thus peaceably procure relief, without trusting to despised petitions, or disturbing the public tranquillity.

The next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty nor property, can be taken from the possessor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers of his vicinage, who from that neighbourhood may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the witnesses, upon a fair trial, and full enquiry, face to face, in open Court, before as many of the people as chuse to attend, shall pass their sentence upon oath against him; a sentence that cannot injure him, without injuring their own reputation, and probably their interest also; as the question may turn on points, that, in some degree, concern the general welfare; and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent, that, on a similar trial of their own, may militate against themselves.

Another right relates merely to the liberty of the person. If a subject is seized and imprisoned, tho' by order of Government, he may, by virtue of this right, immediately obtain a writ, termed a Habeas Corpus, from a Judge, whose sworn duty it is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal restraint to be quickly enquired into and redressed.

[1] Montesquieu.

A fourth right, is that of holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, frequently forcing the possessors from their families and their business, to perform what ought to be done, in all well regulated states, by men hired for the purpose.

The last right we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of Government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated, into more honourable and just modes of conducting affairs.

These are the invaluable rights, that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

These are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights, a profligate Ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives.

These are the rights *you* are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection, to exercise. And what is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament in their place? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws, divine and human, could secure it against the despotic caprices of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the French laws in *civil* cases restored? *It seems so.* But observe the cautious kindness of the Ministers, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are—that those "laws shall be the rule, until they shall be *varied* or *altered* by any ordinances of the Governor and Council." Is the "certainty and lenity of the *criminal* law of England, and its benefits and advantages," commended in the said statute, and said to "have been sensibly felt by you," secured to you and your descendants? No. They too are subjected to arbitrary "*alterations*" by the Governor and Council; and a power is expressly reserved of appoint-

ing "such courts of *criminal*, *civil*, and *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction, as shall be thought proper." Such is the precarious tenure of mere *will*, by which you hold your lives and religion. The Crown and its Ministers are impowered, as far as they could be by Parliament, to establish even the *Inquisition* itself among you. Have you an Assembly composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity, and in what manner, your money shall be taken from you? No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the governor and council, all of them dependent upon, and removeable at, the *pleasure* of a Minister. Besides, another late statute, made without your consent, has subjected you to the impositions of *Excise*, the horror of all free states; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of taxes, and laying open to insolent tax-gatherers, houses, the scenes of domestic peace and comfort, and called the castles of English subjects in the books of their law. And in the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authorized to "assess, levy, or apply any *rates* and *taxes*, but for the inferior purposes of *making roads*, and erecting and repairing *public buildings*, or for other *local* conveniences, within your respective towns and districts." Why this degrading distinction? Ought not the property, honestly acquired by *Canadians*, to be held as sacred as that of *Englishmen?* Have not Canadians sense enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering stones from one place, and piling them up in another? Unhappy people! who are not only injured, but insulted. Nay more!—With such a superlative contempt of your understanding and spirit, has an insolent Ministry presumed to think of you, our respectable fellow-subjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to perswade themselves that your gratitude, for the injuries and insults they have recently offered to you, will engage you to take up arms, and render yourselves the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming tools, in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from *us*, which they have treacherously denied to *you;* the unavoidable consequence of which attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your posterity being ever restored to freedom: For idiocy itself cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves.

What would your countryman, the immortal *Montesquieu*, have said to such a plan of domination, as has been framed for you? Hear his words, with an intenseness of thought suited to the importance of the subject.—"In a free state, every man, who is supposed a free agent, *ought to be concerned in his own government:* Therefore the *legislative* should reside in the whole body of the *people*, or their *representatives*."—"The political liberty of the subject is *a tranquillity of mind*, arising from the opinion each person has of his *safety*. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted, as that one man need not be *afraid* of another. When the power of *making* laws, and the power of *executing* them, are *united* in the same person, or in the same body of Magistrates, *there can be no liberty;* because apprehensions may arise, lest the same *Monarch* or *Senate*, should *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner."

"The power of *judging* should be exercised by persons taken from the *body of the people*, at certain times of the year, and pursuant to a form and manner prescribed by law. *There is no liberty*, if the power of *judging* be not *separated* from the *legislative* and *executive* powers."

"Military men belong to a profession, which *may be* useful, but *is often* dangerous."—"The enjoyment of liberty, and even its support and preservation, consists in every man's being allowed to speak his thoughts, and lay open his sentiments."

Apply these decisive maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to your own state. You have a Governor, it may be urged, vested with the *executive* powers, or the powers of *administration:* In him, and in your Council, is lodged the power of *making laws*. You have *Judges*, who are to *decide* every cause affecting your lives, liberty or property. Here is, indeed, an appearance of the several powers being *separated* and *distributed* into *different* hands, for checks one upon another, the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and prosperity. But scorning to be illuded by a tinsel'd outside, and exerting the natural sagacity of Frenchmen, *examine* the specious device, and you will find it, to use an expression of holy writ, "a whited sepulchre," for burying your lives, liberty and property.

Your *Judges*, and your *Legislative Council*, as it is called, are *dependant* on your *Governor*, and *he* is *dependant* on the servant of the Crown, in Great-Britain. The *legislative*, *executive* and *judging* powers are *all* moved by the nods of a Minister. Privileges and immunities last no

longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered you, that every sentence, beginning with a benevolent pretension, concludes with a destructive power; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is—that the Crown and its Ministers shall be as absolute throughout your extended province, as the despots of Asia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of necessitous and cruel masters? your persons from Letters de Cachet, goals, dungeons, and oppressive services? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers? We defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you or your posterity, but from an entire adoption into the union of these Colonies.

What advice would the truly great man before-mentioned, that advocate of freedom and humanity, give you, was he now living, and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbours, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and united by the indissoluble bands of affection and interest, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourselves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our righteous contest, to make common cause with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating subjection under Governors, Intendants, and Military Tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of English freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable?

Would not this be the purport of his address? "Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North-America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting, to compleat the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes, they never will desert or betray you. Be assured, that the happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages ten-

dered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu."

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know, that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those, who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

Should there be any among you, as there generally are in all societies, who prefer the favours of Ministers, and their own private interests, to the welfare of their country, the temper of such selfish persons will render them incredibly active in opposing all public-spirited measures, from an expectation of being well rewarded for their sordid industry, by their superiors; but we doubt not you will be upon your guard against such men, and not sacrifice the liberty and happiness of the whole Canadian people and their posterity, to gratify the avarice and ambition of individuals.

We do not ask you, by this address, to commence acts of hostility against the government of our common Sovereign. We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism, but to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly desirable union, we submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts, and elect Deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial Congress, may chuse Delegates, to represent your province in the continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May, 1775.

In this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of the last month, and continued to this day, it has been, with universal pleasure and an unanimous vote, resolved, That we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your province,

as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these purposes, we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his Majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances; and have associated to stop all importations from Great-Britain and Ireland, after the first day of December, and all exportations to those Kingdoms and the West-Indies, after the tenth day of next September, unless the said grievances are redressed.

That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single province, but on the consolidated powers of North-America, and may grant to our joint exertions an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow-subjects.

By order of the Congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*

The Address to the King being engrossed & compared was signed at the table.

Resolved that the Address of the Congress to the people of Canada [Quebec] be signed by the President & that the delegates of the province of Pensylvania superintend the translating, printing, publishing & dispersing them; and it is recommended by the Congress to the delegates of Newhampshire, Massachusetts bay & New York to assist in & forward the dispersion of the said address.

The [Two copies of the] Address to the King being engrossed & compared was signed at the table by all the members

Resolved That the Thanks of this Congress be given to the honourable House of Representatives of the Colony of

Pensylvania for their politeness to this Congress and that the delegates for this Colony be a Committee to communicate this Resolution to the said Hono^ble House.

The Congress then dissolved itself.

A letter from general Gage to Peyton Randolph, esquire.

BOSTON, *October 20th, 1774.*

SIR,

Representations should be made with candour, and matters stated exactly as they stand. People would be led to believe, from your letter to me of the 10th instant, that works were raised against the town of Boston, private property invaded, the soldiers suffered to insult the inhabitants, and the communication between the town and country, shut up and molested.

Nothing can be farther from the true situation of this place than the above state. There is not a single gun pointed against the town, no man's property has been seized or hurt, except the king's, by the people's destroying straw, bricks, &c. bought for his service. No troops have given less cause for complaint, and greater care was never taken to prevent it; and such care and attention was never more necessary from the insults and provocations daily given to both officers and soldiers. The communication between the town and country has been always free and unmolested, and is so still.

Two works of earth have been raised at some distance from the town, wide off the road, and guns put in them. The remainder of old works, going out of the town, have been strengthened, and guns placed there likewise. People will think differently, whether the hostile preparation throughout the country, and the menaces of blood and slaughter, made this necessary; but I am to do my duty.

It gives me pleasure that you are endeavouring at a cordial reconciliation with the mother country, which, from what has transpired, I have despaired of. Nobody wishes better success to such measures than myself. I have endeavoured to be a mediator, if I could establish a foundation to work upon, and have strongly urged it to people here to pay for the tea, and send a proper memorial to the king, which would be a good beginning on their side, and give their friends the opportunity they seek to move in their support.

I do not believe that menaces, and unfriendly proceedings, will have the effect which too many conceive. The spirit of the British nation was high when I left England, and such measures will not abate it. But I should hope that decency and moderation here, would create the same disposition at home; and I ardently wish that the common enemies to both countries may see, to their disappointment, that these disputes, between the mother-country and the colonies, have terminated like the quarrels of lovers, and increased the affection which they ought to bear to each other.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS GAGE.

To Secretary of Congress.

WILLIAMSBURG *Nov.r 18th 1774*

SIR,

General Gage favour'd me with an answer to the letter sent to him by the Congress, and not knowing well what to do with it in our state of dissolution, I directed it should be published in our papers. I now enclose you a copy, with a view to have it dispersed more speedily for the information of my brother delegates. It wou'd not be amiss to give it a page in our Journals, but I am afraid this can't be done with conveniency. The original I mean for the archives of the Congress, when a good opportunity shall offer for placing it there.

Mr. Willing promised to send me over a copy of our proceedings, as soon as Mr. Bradford shou'd compleat his publication; be pleased to put him in mind of his promise. I shall be obliged to you to let me have by the same conveyance a copy of the petition to his Majesty, of which you may be assured no improper use shall be made. I am with great respect your most obed.t serv.t

PEYTON RANDOLPH.

The Petition of Congress.

To the Kings most excellent majesty

Most gracious Sovereign

We your majestys faithful subjects of the colonies of Newhampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these

colonies who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The Authority of the commander in chief, and, under him, of the brigadiers general has in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in North-America has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and, new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves. The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependant on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Councellors holding their commissions, during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your majestys reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive

security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved that colonists may be tried in England, for offences alledged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty fifth year of Henry the eighth; and in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute. A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last sessions of parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts-bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony or even to Great Britain for trial whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholick religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free protestant English settlements; and a fifth for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North-America.

To a sovereign, who "glories in the name of Briton" the bare recital of these acts must we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of his throne and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony administration adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies, to trace the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and these colonies, from an earlier period or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of sedi-

tious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us, by those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one, to receive injuries and be sensible of them.

Had our creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks be to his adoreable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices, that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not, but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessings, they received from divine providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power, to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen can not be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alledged of taking our property from us without our consent "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence protection and security of the colonies." But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: And for the defence protection and security of the colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects, in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honourable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should at this time have been peaceably, cheerfully and usefully employed in recommending ourselves by every testimony of devotion to your majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto with filial reverence constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience, yet we doubt not, the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us and our connexion with Great-Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to

our parent state, deeply impressed by our education and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alledged to be committed in America—affecting the province of Massachusetts-bay, and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great-Britain and these colonies so necessary to the happiness of both and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament we confide, for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard, we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For appealing to that being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign,

in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy and keeping them united; for the interests of your family depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained.

We therefore most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descend-

SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION TO THE KING

shall be never ceasing and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer.

Philad.a Oct. 26. 1774.—

Henry Middleton

From New Hampshire
John Sullivan
Nath.l Folsom

Massachusetts Bay
Thomas Cushing
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Rob.t Tr. Paine

Rhode Island
Step.n Hopkins
Sam.l Ward

Connecticut
Eliph.t Dyer
Roger Sherman
Silas Deane

New York
Phil. Livingston
John Alsop
Isaac Low
Jas. Duane
John Jay
Wm. Floyd
Henry Wisner
S. Boerum

New Jersey
Wil. Livingston
John De Hart
Step.n Crane
Rich.d Smith

Pennsylvania
E. Biddle
J. Galloway
John Dickinson
John Morton
Thomas Mifflin
Geo. Ross
Cha. Humphreys

Delaware Government
Cæsar Rodney
Geo. M'Kean
Tho. Mckean

Maryland
Mat. Tilghman
Thos. Johnson Jun.r
Wm. Paca
Samuel Chase

Virginia
Richard Henry Lee
Patrick Henry
Geo. Washington
Edmund Pendleton
Rich.d Bland
Benj.n Harrison

North Carolina
Wil. Hooper
Joseph Hewes
R. Caswell

South Carolina
Tho. Lynch
Christ. Gadsden
J. Rutledge
Edward Rutledge

ants may inherit your prosperity and dominions 'til time shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer.

Henry Middleton
Jn° Sullivan
Nath.l Folsom
Thomas Cushing
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Rob.t Treat Paine
Step Hopkins
Sam: Ward
Elipht Dyer
Roger Sherman
Silas Deane
Phil. Livingston
John Alsop
Isaac Low
Jas. Duane
John Jay
W.m Floyd
Henry Wisner
S: Bœrum
Wil: Livingston
John De Hart
Step.n Crane
Rich.d Smith
E Biddle
J: Galloway
John Dickinson
John Morton
Thomas Mifflin
George Ross
Cha.s Humphreys
Cæsar Rodney
Tho.s M: Kean
Geo: Read
Mat. Tilghman
Th.s Johnson Jun.r
W.m Paca
Samuel Chase
Richard Henry Lee
Patrick Henry
G.o Washington
Edmund Pendleton
Rich.d Bland
Benj.n Harrison
Will Hooper
Joseph Hewes
R.d Caswell
Tho Lynch
Chris.t Gadsden
J. Rutledge
Edward Rutledge

Agents to whom the Address to King is to be sent
for New Hampshire, Paul Wentworth Esq.r

Massachusetts bay, { William Bollan Esq.r, Doct.r Benj: Franklin Doct.r Arthur Lee.

Rhode Island, none
Connecticut, Thomas Life, Esq.r
New Jersey, Doct.r Benj. Franklin
Pensylvania, ditto

New York, Edmund Burke
Delaware, Maryland } none
Virginia, N. Carolina }
South Carolina, Charles Garth, Esq.

Wednesday sent an Address to the King & under cover to Doct. Franklin directed to the above Agents.

27. Thursday. Sent p. M. H. Middleton 2 letters to Georgia, one directed to Glen the other to Lyman Hall & others.

Also one to East Florida & one to West Florida.

Same day sent p. M. S. Adams a Letter to Nova Scotia & one to St. Johns.

6 Nov. sent the 2d copy of Address to his Majesty by Capt. Falconer.

The Address to the people of Quebec being translated by M. Simiteir,[1] 2000 copies were struck off, of which 300 were sent to Boston by Capt. Wier 16th Nov.[2]

Charles Thomson to Franklin

PHILAD. *Oct. 26, 1774*

SIR

This day the Congress broke up, the papers are not all got ready, but will be sent to you by the next opportunity. As a vessel sails to morrow morning early I am ordered to forward to you the petition to the King. Endorsed: "Capt. Morwick is particularly requested to take great care of these and deliver it as soon as possible, it being the Petition from the Congress"

Nov. 1, 1774

SIR

I have the honour to forward to you, the address to the King and an address to the people of Great Britain & these colonies. I was in hopes by this opportunity to have sent you the Journal of the proceedings of the congress which is in the press.

I hope administration will see and be convinced that it is not a little faction, but the whole body of American freeholders from Nova Scotia to Georgia that now complain & apply for redress; and who, I am sure, will resist rather than submit.

[1] Pierre Eugène du Simitière.

[2] With this entry the record of Charles Thomson ends; but what follows will carry on the story of the Petition until the meeting of the Congress of 1775.

When I look back and consider the warm affection which the colonists had for Great Britain till the present reign, the untainted loyalty, unshaken fidelity & cheerful confidence that universally prevailed till that time, & then view the present heart burnings, jealousies, gloom & despair, I am ready to ask, with the poet "Are there not some chosen thunders in the stores of heaven armed with uncommon wrath to blast those men," who by their cursed schemes of policy are dragging friends & brothers into the horrors of civil war & involving their country in ruin.

Even yet the wound may be healed & peace and love restored; But we are on the very edge of the precipice. I am &c

CHA. THOMSON

Franklin to W. & R. Molleson.

CRAVEN STREET, *Dec. 21, 74*

GENTLEMEN:

I am much obliged by your friendly offer of accompanying me in presenting the Petition. It is committed to the Care of Sundry Gentlemen who meet this Day to consider the Mode of presenting it. What they will agree on is uncertain. If it were a Petition from *Merchants* in America on the subject of *Commerce* there might be more Propriety in its being accompanied to the Throne by the American Merchants here; but as it chiefly relates to the political Grievances of the Americans, perhaps it will be thought best not to give Merchants here the Trouble of accompanying it, as probably they will form a Petition of their own, on the mischievous Interruption their Commerce is likely to sustain by a continuance of the present Measures. I am &c

B. F.[1]

To W. & R. MOLLESON.

When the Petition first came over, an Accident had happen'd to the Paper that made it unfit to be presented,

Therefore a Duplicate was waited for, being expected in some other ship.

Before that arriv'd Lord Hillsborough was gone to Ireland

[1] See Franklin's *Writings*, (Bigelow's Edition,) V, 469.

On his Return B. F. waited on him 5 several times, or rather endeavoured to wait on him, but was always refus'd admittance, or his L^p deny'd.

In the meantime hearing that his L^p had declar'd the Minister who propos'd the Repeal of that Act would deserve to be hang'd & also that his L^p talk'd of resigning, B. F. thought it best to wait a little longer.[1]

[1] Ms. of B. F. in Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

"The American petition came under cover to Dr Franklin, but consigned to five gentlemen, viz. the Doctor himself, Mr. Burke, Mr Garth, Mr Arthur Lee and Paul Wentworth, to be by them presented to the king attended by as many Americans and merchants as could be prevailed upon to take a part in the business, or to be delivered to your Lordship in order to be presented. The petitioners recommend the first mode, but understand Dr Franklin adopts the latter. They were to meet today at Waghorn's coffee house, but Paul Wentworth (from whom I have these particulars) declines acting, and says the petition is an assertion of all their claims in a very high tone and with very offensive expressions." Note endorsed "Mr Pownall," and dated 20 December, 1774, Dartmouth MSS.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

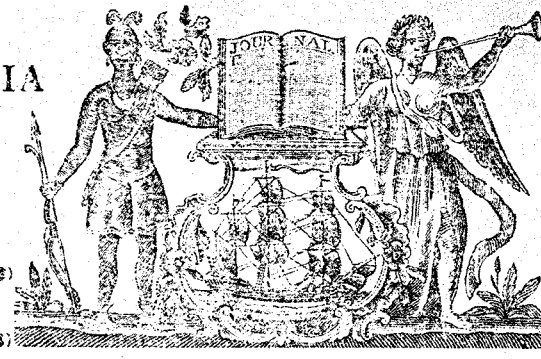
"PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL"

HEADING, JULY 20, 1774

JULY 20, 1774.

NUMB. 1650.

THE PENNSYLVANIA AND WEEKLY JOURNAL; THE ADVERTISER.



WEDNESDAY, JULY 20, 1774.

Messrs BRADFORDS,

GENTLEMEN,

IT must afford singular pleasure to every lover of liberty and his country, to observe the unanimity of sentiment with respect to the present system of American government. *That the Parliament of Great-Britain has no right to tax the unrepresented Americans*, is now become a fixed and settled principle, in which the zealous and the moderate equally agree. But the modes of resistance to this claim are various, according to the different information, conceptions, ideas, and, I fear, the different interests of those who may be affected by that which shall be finally adopted: There are some who go yet farther, and think the payment of the tea destroyed at Boston should precede all farther opposing measures on the part of America. I incline to think the number of these to be but few:—But as it has been the subject of public discussion in the town of Boston, and may have more advocates than I am aware of, I shall submit the following reasons against it to the judgment of my fellow citizens, and fellow readers.

L O N D O N, *May* 13.

H O U S E of L O R D S,

P R O T E S T.

Die Mercurij, 11*o Maij*, 1774.

THE order of the day being read for the third reading of the bill, intituled, "An Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England;" and for the Lords to be summoned:

The said bill was accordingly read the third time.

Moved, That the bill, with the amendments, do pass.

Which being objected to,

After a long debate,

The question was put thereupon.

It was resolved in the affirmative.

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Proxies	——	25	
Not contents	——	20	20
Proxies	——	0	

Dissentient,

The following P

The Governor and Council, thus intrusted with powers, with which the British Constitution has not trusted his Majesty and his Privy-Council, have the means of returning such a jury in each particular cause, as may best suit with the gratification of their passions, and interests. The lives, liberties, and properties of the subject are put into their hands without controul; and the invaluable right of trial by jury, is turned into a snare for the people, who have hitherto looked upon it as their main security against the licentiousness of power.

6thly. Because we see in this bill the same scheme of strengthening the authority of the Officers and Ministers of State, *at the expence of the rights and liberties of the subject* which was indicated by the unsuspicious act for shutting up the harbour of Boston.

By that act, which is immediately connected with this bill, the example was set of a large important city (containing vast multitudes of people, many of whom must be innocent, and all of whom are unheard) by an arbitrary sentence, deprived of the advantage of that port, upon which all their means of livelihood ultimately depend.

"PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL"

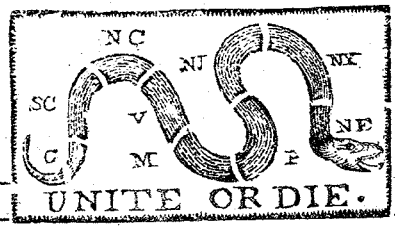
HEADING, AUGUST 3, 1774

AUGUST 3, 1774.

PENNSYLVANIA AND WEEKLY

WEDNESDAY,

THE



NUMB. 1652.

JOURNAL; THE ADVERTISER.

AUGUST 3, 1774

Messieurs BRADFORDS,

I observed in the Supplement to your Journal of the 13th of June, a piece signed C. M SCÆVOLA, *containing many injurious reflections on a number of the inhabitants of this city. As I have no reason to doubt the Freedom of your Press, I request you will insert the inclosed.* Your's, &c.

"——— *Commota fervet plebecula bile.*" PERSIUS.

REGARDLESS of the abusive threats of the ignorant, and undaunted by their ill-judged and misguided zeal, an Advocate in the cause of truth and moderation dares a public appearance, and with that authority which he conceives his cause hath a right to demand, claims the public attention.

By a strange corruption of language in these degenerate days, Moderation and Prudence imply the most unspeakable degree of vice; the store-houses of Billingsgate are ransacked to find terms sufficiently opprobious and "*detestable*" to denominate them, and the real Patriot, who is virtuous enough to declare himself their Advocate, is treated with a contempt, due only to the inconsiderate and rash, whose inflammatory opinions and actions directly tend to involve this country in calamities more dreadful than she hath yet experienced.

Far however as we are advanced in the wilderness of confusion—I am conscious there yet remain many averse to those violent sentiments and who lament that a people professing liberty should so much degrade the character, and descend to scandal for reproachful epithets to throw on the most deserving of the community.

It is a misfortune that too few have adequate ideas of liberty and [illegible] worse yet, few are in a likely

I shall conclude these remarks with a request, that Scævola may desist, unless he can write the truth, or at least, that he cease to villify and abuse the most respectable characters; by this he effectually hurts the cause he would appear to espouse.—If this hint should be disregarded—his next production will, perhaps, meet a stricture more severe.

A MODERATE MAN.

PHILADELPHIA.

A brief ENUMERATION *of* AMERICAN GRIEVANCES: *Being the heads of a* SPEECH *at the general Meeting at* Lewes Town *in* Delaware, *July* 28, 1774.

A PHYSICIAN introduced the business of the assembly by an encomium on the happiness of the *English constitution;*—and went on to shew, that the American Colonies brought all British Liberties with them, as appears by their Charters, the nature of their emigration, and many public declarations at that time, and since.—That the Colonies were *pleasd and happy in their union,* commerce, and mutual assistance, given to, and received from the Mother Country, even while almost the whole fruits of their labour and industry ever returned to Britain, to her strength and aggrandisement.—That they have been and still are the most loyal and dutiful of all his Majesty's subjects, and the most closely attached to the *present Royal Family*—That they have *always granted their aids of money and men,* when their Sovereign constitutionally demanded them of their Assemblies; and even seasonably, and beyond their proportion, so that in last war a considerable sum was refunded to this little Colony on Delaware, as *the Customs,* authorized by Parliament in violation of all English liberty, to *plunder freemens houses, cellars, trunks, bedchambers,* &c. and if they *murder men,* by a late Bill, they may not be tried in America, and the *poor relations* cannot prosecute on the other side the *Atlantic;* thus the blood of our poor innocents may cry indeed to God from the earth, but from civil government, there can be no justice.

19. The grievous *partiality* of those, who have made their own judges independent even of the demise of the Crown, yet have sent *Judges,* a *Governor,* and *Attorney General during pleasure only,* under no ties to the country, but *biass'd to the Ministry,* by whom they are supported by a *tax unconstitutionally squeezed from Americans;* their circumstances tend to make them like Judge *Jefferies,* the cruel instruments of tyranny and injustice.

20. *Ungratefully disheartening us, and adding insult to injury, quartering insolent troops upon us,* to provoke the injured to mobs; and sending over *men of the worst characters for Governors, Judges, and Officers,* to some Colonies; *refusing to hear any complaints of mal-administration;* forgetting all our merit, though the most firmly of all his Majesty's subjects; *attached to the principles of the revolution;* supporting one third of the nation, and encreasing her naval power and grandeur, and profusely spending our blood and treasures in all the wars of Britain, &c.

21. Another *distressing grievance is, that the British Ministry receive no information of the state of the provinces, unless from their very enemies, the Governours, Judges, and Officers,* while cries and petitions of the injured and oppress'd Colonies

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES[1]

September 22.

Preliminary non-importation.

1. Philadelphia, / In Congress, Thursday, September 22, 1774. / Resolved, / . . . . . / [Philadelphia:] Printed by W. and T. Bradford.

4°. Broadside.

Reproduced opposite page 43 of this volume, from the original in the Simitière collection in the Library Company of Philadelphia. This resolution was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 26, 1774.

October 20.

Non-importation, &c. agreement.

2. The / Association, &c. [Philadelphia: Printed by W. and T. Bradford. 1774.]

8°. pp. 11.

The New York Public Library has Richard Smith's copy with signatures of the members of the Congress. Another copy, with signatures, is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Copies of the pamphlet without the signatures are in the Library of Congress and the Boston Athenæum. The first page is reproduced opposite page 75 of this volume.

3. The following Extract from the Votes and Pro- / ceedings of the American Continental Congress, / we are induced to publish thus early purely to / ease the Impatience of our Readers. / Association, &c. [New York:?]

8°. pp. 8

Copies are in the Library of Congress and in the New York Historical Society. It may have been "made up" in pages from some newspaper broadside.

4. The following Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, / we are induced to publish thus early purely to ease the Impatience of the Public. / Association, &c. Sold at the Printing Office in New Haven.

F°. pp. 2.

A copy is in the Emmet collection in the New York Public Library.

[1] The basis of these notes is Paul Leicester Ford's "Some materials for a bibliography of the official publications of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789," first issued in the Bulletin of Boston Public Library, and reissued in separate form in 1888.

5. The following Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American / Continental Congress, we are induced to publish thus early purely to ease / the Impatience of our Readers. / Association, &c. Boston: Printed by Edes & Gill.

F°. Broadside.

Copies are in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society.

6. [Same as No. 5, but with the imprint of T & J. Fleet.]

F° Broadside.

Copies are in the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society.

It is probable that the Association was issued in each colony and as a broadside or a supplement to the local newspaper; so that this list will apply only to such issues as have come to the notice of the editor.

The *Pennsylvania Packet* of October 31, 1774, contained the Association, together with the following resolutions:

[1] October 8. Approving the opposition of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of Parliament.

[2] October 10. On the removal of the inhabitants of Boston and recommending submission. This newspaper version differs from that in the *Journals* (page 59 *ante*) in that the second paragraph reads "and the laws founded thereon, *until the effects of our application for a repeal of the acts by which their charter rights are infringed is known.*" The words in italics were omitted in the *Journals*.

[3] October 11. The letter to General Gage, and the resolution advising peaceable conduct toward Gage by the Bostonians.

[4] October 21. A resolution justifying resistance to seizure.

[5] October 22. Resolution for holding another Congress in May, 1775.

[6] October 25. Resolution of thanks to those in England who have espoused the cause of America.

October 21.

Address and Memorial.

7. To the / People of Great Britain, / from the / Delegates, / Appointed by the several English Co- / lonies . . . / . . . . . / . . . / to consider of / their Grievances in General Con- / gress, at Philadelphia, Septem- / ber 5th, 1774. / . . . [Philadelphia: Printed by W. and T. Bradford. 1774.]

8°. pp. 36.

Contains the letter of Congress to the "People of Great Britain," and that to the "Inhabitants of the Colonies." The order to print is to be found on page 101 *ante*. Paul Leicester Ford says: "The text of the letter to the 'Inhabitants of the Colonies' was slightly altered in the subsequent issues, and copies of this first edition are sometimes found with MS. corrections of the changes made."

The two papers were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, November 7, 1774.

8. Two / Letters / from the / American Continental Congress, / held / At Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774. / The one Addressed to the / People of Great Britain. / And the other to the / Inhabitants of the American Colonies. / Coventry: / Printed and Sold by J. W. Piercy, in Broad-gate. 1775. / (Price Two-pence.)

8° pp. (4) 22.

9. A Letter to the People of Great Britain from the Delegates of the American Congress in Philadelphia. [London] Andrews, Little Eastcheap.

8° pp. 16.

The John Carter Brown Library has a title like this, without imprint, which is assigned to Philadelphia. This assignment, however, is doubtful.

October 26.

Letter to Quebec.

10. A Letter / to the / Inhabitants / of the / Province / of / Quebec. / Extract from the Minutes of the Congress. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, / October, 1774.

8° pp. (2), [37]–50.

Copies are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society and in the John Carter Brown Library.

The letter was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, November 14, 1774.

11. To the / Inhabitants / of the Province of / Quebec. / From the / Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, / September 5, 1774. / [Colophon.] [New York:] Printed by John Holt, in Dock Street. [1774.]

4° pp. 7.

12. Ein Schreiben / an die / Einwohner / der / Provinz / Quebec. / Auszug aus dem Protocoll des Congresses. / Philadelphia, / Gedruckt und zu haben bey Heinrich Miller, / 1774.

8° pp. (2), [63]–76.

13. Lettre adressée / aux Habitans / de la Province / de / Quebec, / Ci-devant le Canada. / De la part du Congrès Général de l'Am- / erique Septentrionale, tenu a Philadelphie. / Imprimé & publié par Ordre du Congrès. / A Philadelphie, / De l'Imprimerie de Fleury Mesplet. / M. DCC. LXXIV.

8° pp. (2), 18.

The translation was made by Pierre Eugène du Simitière.

Copies are in the Library Company of Philadelphia and the John Carter Brown Library.

14. A / Clear Idea / of the General and Uncorrupted / British Constitution: / in an / Address to the Inhabitants / of the / Province of Quebec. / From the Forty-nine Delegates in the Continental / Congress at Philadelphia: / September 5, to October 10, 1774. / Extracted from the Votes and Proceedings. [London: Dilly and Almon, 1774.]

8°. pp. 8.

A copy is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

15. Extract, from the Journal of the proceedings, of the ho- / norable the American Continental Congress, . . . / . . . Being that part / of their Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of / Quebec, which enumerates, the glorious rights of / Englishmen, . . . / [Philadelphia: Printed by R. Bell, 1776.]

8°. pp. 6.

Usually found as a supplement to "Plain Truth . . . . " by Candidus. Philadelpia: 1776.

October 26.

Petition to the King.

16. To Peyton Randolph, Esq. [Philadelphia: W. and T. Bradford. 1774.]

8vo. pp. [133]–144.

Issued as a supplement to No. 43, and containing the letter from General Gage to Randolph, and the Petition to the King.

The letter from Gage was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, November 28, 1774; but the Petition to the King did not appear until January 17, 1775, when it was issued as a "Postscript Extra to the Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 17, 1774," and repeated in the issue of January 23, 1775.

17. The / Petition / of the / Continental Congress / to the / King. / And General Gage's Letter / to the Honorable / Peyton Randolph, Esq.; / In Answer to one wrote by the Congress. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, / at the London Coffee-House. / MDCCLXXIV.

8°. pp. (2), [133]–144.

Same as No. 16, with a title-page added.

18. The / Petition / of the / Grand American Continental / Congress, / to the King's / Most Excellent Majesty. / America. / Boston, Printed and sold at the Printing-Office, near / the Mill-Bridge.

16°. pp. 8.

A copy is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

October 27.

Extracts from the Votes.

"We are informed that the Proceedings of the Honorable Congress are now in the press, and will in a few days be made public." *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 24, 1774.

19. Extracts / From the / Votes and Proceedings / of the American Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia on the / 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Griev- / ances, Occasional Resolves, the / Association, an Address to the People / of Great-Britain, and a Memorial / to the Inhabitants of the British / American Colonies. / Published by order of the Congress. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, / October 27, M, DCC, LXXIV.

8°. pp. (4), 12, 11, 36.

20. Same title and imprint.

8°. pp. 23, 36.

21. Same title and imprint.

8°. pp. (4), 11, 50.

A copy is in the Library Company of Philadelphia.

22. Same title and imprint.

8°. pp. (4), 23, 50.

A copy is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

"The first collation (No. 19) is, I believe, the first edition of this famous pamphlet, being 'made up,' apparently, from the remainders of Nos. 2 and 7, with the addition of the Bill of Rights and List of Grievances. The Letter to the Inhabitants of Quebec (No. 10), though printed after this was issued, and having a separate title, is intended to be a part of the Extracts." *Paul Leicester Ford.*

23. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the American / Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, Occasional Resolves, the Association, an / Address to the People of Great-Britain, / a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the / British American Colonies, and a Petition / to the King. / To which is added, / The Proceedings of the / Provincial Convention, / Held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775. / Published by order of the Provincial Convention. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, / at the London Coffee-House. / M, DCC, LXXV.

8°. pp. 80.

A copy is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

24. Extracts / From the / Votes and Proceedings / Of the American Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia on the / 5th of

September, 1774. / Containing The Bill of Rights, a List of Griev- / ances, Occasional Resolves, the Asso- / ciation, an Address to the People of / Great-Britain, and a Memorial to / the Inhabitants of the British / American Colonies. / Published by Order of the Congress. / Philadelphia: Printed. / Boston: / Re-Printed by Edes and Gill, in Queen street, / and T. and J. Fleet, in Cornhill. / M. DCC. LXXIV.

8° pp. 49.

A copy is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

25. Same title and imprint.

8° pp. 56.

A copy is in the Library of Congress. This second issue contains the Suffolk Resolutions, the Letter to the Inhabitants of Quebec, and some minor Resolutions, not included in the earlier issue.

26. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the American Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia on the / 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievan- / ces, Occasional Resolves, the Association, an / Address to the People of Great-Britain, / and a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the / British American Colonies. / Published by Order of the Congress. / Philadelphia, Printed: / Boston, Re-printed: And sold by John Boyle / in Marlborough-Street, and Mills and Hicks in / School-Street. 1774.

8° pp. 43.

27. Same title and imprint.

8° pp. 52.

A copy is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It contains the Letter to the Inhabitants of Quebec.

28. Same title. Philadelphia. Printed: Boston, Re-printed: And sold by John Boyle, in Marlborough-Street, and Mills and Hicks in School-Street, and Cox and Berry in King-Street.

8° pp. 43.

Title from Stevens's Nuggets, No. 1031.

29. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the / American Continental / Congress, / held at / Philadelphia, / On the 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, / Occasional Resolves, the Association, an Address / to the People of Great-Britain, and a Memorial to / the Inhabitants of the British American Colonies. / Published by Order of the Congress. / Philadelphia: Printed. / Hartford: Re-printed by Eben. Watson, near / the Great-Bridge.

8° pp. 48.

Includes the Letter to the Inhabitants of Quebec.

30. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the / American Continental / Congress. / Held at Philadelphia, / on the Fifth of September, 1774. / Containing, / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, Occasional / Resolves, the Association, an Address to the People / of Great-Britain, and a Memorial to the Inhabitants / of the British American Colonies. / Published by order of the Congress. / Philadelphia printed. / London: Reprinted for J. Almon, opposite / Burlington House, Piccadilly. / MDCCLXXIV.

8° pp. (4), 82.

A copy is in the Boston Athenæum.

31. Same imprint, but with a slight variation in the lining of the title, thus, "An Address to the / People of Great Britain and a Memorial to the / Inhabitants of the British American Colonies."

8° pp. (4), 59, (1).

32. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the / American Continental / Congress. / Held at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, Occasional Resolves, / the Association, an Address to the People of Great-Britain, / a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British American / Colonies, and an Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of / Quebec. / Published by Order of the Congress. / New-London: / Printed and sold by Timothy Green. 1774.

4° pp. 70.

A copy is in the Boston Athenæum.

33. Extracts / From the / Votes and Proceedings / of the American Continental / Congress. / Held at Philadelphia, / On the 5th of September, 1774. / Containing, / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, / Occasional Resolves, the Association, an / Address to the People of Great-Britain, Memo- / rial to the Inhabitants of the British American / Colonies, and an Address to the Inhabitants of / Quebec. / Published by order of the Congress. / New-London: / Printed by Timothy Green, M, DCC, LXXIV.

4° pp. 70.

34. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the / American Continental Congress, / Held at Philadelphia, / on the 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, / A List of Grievances, / Occasional Resolves, / The Association, / An Address to the Peo- / ple of Great-Britain, / And a Memorial to the / Inhabitants of the British American Colonies. / Published by Order of

the Congress. / Philadelphia, Printed: / Newport, Rhode Island. / Reprinted and sold by S. Southwick, in Queen-Street, 1774.

8º pp. 59.

35. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the / American / Continental Congress, / held / At Philadelphia, 5th September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, occasional / Resolves, the Association, an Address to the / People of Great-Britain, and a Memorial to the / Inhabitants of the British American Colonies. / Published by order of the Congress. / New-York. / Printed by H. Gaine, at the Bible and Crown in / Hanover-Square. / M, DCC, LXXIV.

12º pp. 59.

A copy is in the New York Historical Society.

36. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / Of the American Continental / Congress. / Held at Philadelphia on the / 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, Occasional / Resolves, the Association, an Address to the People of / Great-Britain, and a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the / British American Colonies. / Published by Order of the Congress. / Philadelphia: Printed. / New-York: Reprinted by John Holt, in Dock-Street.

4º pp. 25.

A copy is in the New York Historical Society. Some copies have seven additional pages, containing Holt's issue of the Letter to the Inhabitants of Quebec, No. 11.

37. / Containing / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievan-/ces Ocasional [*sic*] Resolves, the Associa-/tion, and Address to the People of / Great-Britain, and a Memorial to the / Inhabitants of British American / Colonies. / The Second Edition, to which is added Minutes of the Journal. / Published by Order of the Congress. / Philadelphia: Printed. / New-York: Reprinted by John Holt in Dock-Street [1775.]

8º pp. 96.

A copy is in the New York Historical Society. Same as No. 44 lacking the preliminary four pages.

38. Extracts / from / The Votes and Proceedings of / the / American / Continental Congress, / Held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774./ Containing, / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, occasional Resolves, / The Association, and Address to the People of Great Britain, / and a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British American/

Colonies. / Published by order of the Congress. / Together with / an Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec, / to which are added, / The Resolve of the County of Suffolk, in the Province of Mass-/achusetts-Bay, on the 8th of September, 1774; / with / A Letter from the County Delegates to General Gage, con- / cerning the Fortifications upon Boston Neck, and Unanimous / Resolves of the Grand Continental Congress, approving of their / Wisdom and Fortitude; and recommending a perseverance in their firm and / temperate Conduct. / New-York: / Printed for James Rivington, 1774.

8º pp. 36.

A copy is in the New York Historical Society.

39. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / of the / American Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia on the fifth day of September, / M.DCC. LXXIV. / Containing, / The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, / Occasional Resolves, The Association, An Ad- / dress to the People of Great-Britain, and a / Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British / American Colonies. / Published by Order of the Congress. / Philadelphia: Printed. / Norwich: Reprinted by Robertsons and / Trumbull, M. DCC. LXXIV.

8º pp. 41.

A copy is in the Maryland Historical Society.

40. An edition issued at Providence, Rhode Island, by John Carter, in 1774.

Title from Thomas and Haven.

41. Extracts / from the / Votes and Proceedings / Of the American Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia / on the / 5th of September 1774. / Williamsburg: / Printed by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon. / M, DCC, LXXIV.

8º pp. 48.

A copy is in the Library of Congress.

42. Auszüge / aus den / Stimmungen / und / Verhandlungen / des / Amerikanischen / Congresses / vom besten Lande, / Gehalten zu Philadelphia, den 5ten Sept. 1774. / Enthaltend / die Bill der Rechten, eine Liste von Be- / schwerden gelegentliche Schlüsse, eine / Adresse an des Volk von Großbrit- / tannien, und ein Memorial an die Ein- / wohner der Brittisch-Amerikanischen / Colonien. / Herausgegeben auf Befehl des Congresses; / und aus dem Englischen übersetzt. / Philadelphia, / Gedruckt und zu haben bey Heinrich Miller. / 1774.

16º pp. 76.

A copy is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Journal.

43. Journal / of the / Proceedings / of the / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia, / September 5, 1774. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee-House. / M, DCC, LXXIV.

8° pp. (4), 144.

The first edition of the *Journal*. Copies are in the Boston Athenæum and Library Company of Philadelphia. Some copies appear to have been issued before pp. 133–144 were printed. One such is in the John Carter Brown Library; but Mr. Winship informs me it is in a "modern pamphlet binding," and thus may be an imperfect copy bound in recent times. The *Pennsylvania Packet* for November 21, 1774, announced the publication on "this afternoon."

44. The / Whole Proceedings / of the / American Continental / Congress, / Held at Philadelphia on the / 5th of September, 1774. / Containing / 1. Extracts from the Votes and Pro- / ceedings, made, and published by their / Order. / 2. Journal, or Minutes, and Formalities / of their Proceedings, List of Dele- / gates, with their Powers, &c. / Re-printed from the Copies published by Order of / the Congress. / Philadelphia: Printed. / New-York: Reprinted by John Holt, in / Water Street. 1775.

8° pp. (4), 96.

A copy is in the New York Historical Society.

45. Journal / of the / Proceedings / of the Congress, / Held at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774. / Containing / the Bill of Rights; a List of Grievances; / Occasional Resolves; The Association; An / Address to the People of Great Britain; A / Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British / American Colonies; and, An Address to / the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec. / Published by Order of the Congress. / To which is added / (Being now first printed by Authority) / An Authentic Copy / of the / Petition to the King. / London: / Printed for J. Almon, opposite Burlington-House, in / Piccadilly / M.DCC.LXXV.

8° pp. (2), 66, (2).

A copy is in the Library of Congress.

In spite of the statement on the title-page, this volume contains none (the Petition to the King excepted) of the papers there mentioned.

"The late pamphlet, entitled 'Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress,' contained only a Part of the Journal of that Congress. The whole Journal has since been published in America; but it was thought proper to reprint only such parts in this Pamphlet, as were omitted in the former, in order that those Gentlemen who have purchased the 'Extracts' may make their copies complete, if they chuse it. The two pamphlets contain the entire Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress."

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O

We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects the Delegates of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, The three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina deputed to represent them in a continental Congress held in the city of Philadelphia on the fifth day of September 1774. avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere affected with the deepest anxiety and most alarming apprehension at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation the state of the whole continent find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1763 evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies and with them the British Empire. In prosecution of which by various acts of parliament have been passed for raising a Revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects in many instances of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas of crimes alledge to have been committed in America: And in prosecution of the same system, several late cruel and oppressive acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country, thus by the influence of evil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free protestant colonies, whenever a wicked Ministry shall choose to direct them. —

To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty and property of his Majesty's subjects in North-America we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement faithfully adhered to will prove the most speedy, effectual and peaceable measure: And therefore we do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent firmly agree and associate under the sacred tie of virtue, honour and love of our country as follows,

1. That from and after the first day of December next we will not import into British America from Great-Britain or Ireland, any Goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever or from any other place any such goods, wares or merchandize as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we after that day import any East India Tea from any part of the World, any Molasses, Syrups, panelas, Coffee or Pimento from the British Plantations or from Dominica, nor Wines from Madeira or the Western Islands nor foreign Indigo. —

2. That we will neither import nor purchase any Slave imported after the first day of December next, and after which time we will wholly discontinue the Slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it. —

3. As a non-consumption agreement strictly adhered to will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation we as above solemnly agree and associate that from this day we will not purchase or use any Tea imported on account of the East India Company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatsoever, nor will we nor shall any person for or under us purchase or use any of those goods, wares or merchandize we have agreed not to import, which we shall know or have cause to suspect were imported after the first day of December except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

4. The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow subjects in Great-Britain, Ireland or the West-Indies induces us to suspend a non-importation until the tenth day of September 1775. at which time if the said acts and parts of acts of the British Parliament hereinafter mentioned are not repealed we will not directly or indirectly export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain Ireland or the West-Indies. except Rice to Europe.

5. Such as are merchants and use the British and Irish trade will give orders as soon as possible to their factors, Agents and Correspondents in Great-Britain and Ireland not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatsoever as they can not be received in America: And if any merchant residing in Great-Britain or Ireland shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandize for America in order to break the said non-importation agreement or in any manner contravene the same

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same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested it ought to be made public, and on the same being so done, we will not from thence forth have any commercial connection with such merchant. —

6. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their Captains or masters not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement on pain of immediate dismission from their service. —

7. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of Sheep and increase their number to the greatest extent, and to that end we will kill them as sparingly as may be especially those of the most profitable kind nor will we export any to the West-Indies or elsewhere and those of us who are or may become overstocked with or can conveniently spare any Sheep will dispose of them to our neighbours especially to the poorer sort upon moderate terms. —

8. That we will in our several stations encourage frugality, oeconomy and industry and promote agriculture, arts and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool and will discountenance and discourage ~~by example~~ every species of extravagance and dissipation especially all horse racing and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of plays, shews and other expensive diversions and entertainments – And on the death of any relation or friend none of us or any of our families will go into any further mourning dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for Gentlemen, and a black ribbon & neck lace for Ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals. —

9. That such as are venders of goods or merchandizes will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do for twelve months last past – And if any vender of goods or merchandizes shall sell any such goods on higher terms or shall in any manner or by any device whatsoever violate or depart from this ~~a-bove~~ agreement no person ought nor will any of us deal with any such person or his or her factor, or Agent at any time thereafter for any commodity whatever. —

10. In case any merchant, Trader or other person shall import any goods or merchandize after the first day of December ~~next~~ and before the first day of February next the same ought forthwith at the election of the owner to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the Committe of the County, or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the Committe aforesaid and in the last mentioned case the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales the first cost and charges, the profit if any to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port Bill, and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold to be inserted in the public papers; And if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February the same ought forthwith to be sent back again without breaking any of the packages thereof. —

11. That a Committe be chosen in every County, City and Town by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the Legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such Committe that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the Gazette to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publickly known and universally contemned as the enemies of American Liberty and thence forth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her. —

12. That the Committe of Correspondence in the respective colonies do frequently inspect the entries of their Custom House and inform each other from time to time of the true state thereof and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association. —

13. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods. —

14. And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any Colony or province in North-America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of this country. —

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and ~~our~~ our Constituents under the ties aforesaid to adhere to this Association until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war as impose duties, on Tea, Wine, Molloses, Syrups, paneles, Coffee, Sugar, Pimento, Indigo, Foreign

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foreign paper, glass and painters colours imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subjects of trial by jury, authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed — And until that part of the Act of the 12 G. 3. ch. 24 intitled "an Act for the better securing his Majesty's dock yards, magazines, ships Ammunition and Stores" by which any person charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm is repealed. And until the four acts passed in the last session of Parliament, viz that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston — that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts Bay — and that which is intitled an act for the better administration of Justice &c, and that for extending the limits of Quebec &c are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions and to the committees in the respective colonies to establish such further regulations as they may think proper for carrying into execution this association. —

The foregoing association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several Members thereof and thereupon we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

In Congress, Philadelphia October 20th 1774. —

Peyton Randolph President

New Hampshire — Jno Sullivan, Nath. Folsom

Massachusetts Bay. Thomas Cushing, Sam. Adams, John Adams, Rob. Treat Paine

Rhode Island. Step. Hopkins, Sam. Ward

Connecticut. Eliph. Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane

New York. Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, Jas Duane, Wm Floyd, Henry Wisner, Zb Ecrum

New Jersey. Jno Dickinson, Wil: Livingston, Step. Crane, Dick Smith, John De Hart

Pensylvania. Jos. Galloway, John Dickinson, Chas Humphreys, Thomas Mifflin, E Biddle, John Morton, Geo: Ross

Delaware Counties. Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, Thos McKean

New Castle. Thos Lawrence

Maryland. Matt. Tilghman, Wm. Yorke, Wm Paca, Samuel Chase

Virginia. Richard Henry Lee, G. Washington, P. Henry Jr, Richard Bland, Benj Harrison, Edm. Pendleton

North Carolina. Wm Hooper, Joseph Hewes, R Caswell

South Carolina. Henry Middleton, Thos Lynch, Chris Gadsden, J. Rutledge, Edward Rutledge.

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Journals of Congress, vol. 1, frontispiece.